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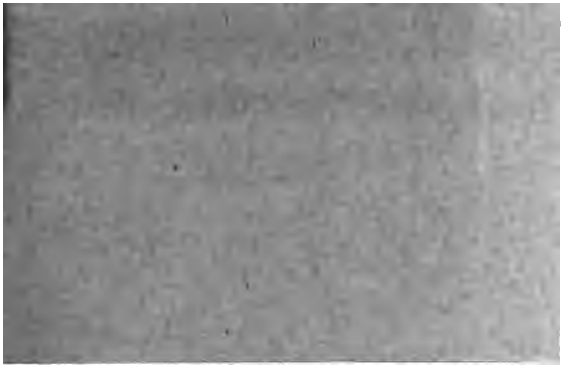

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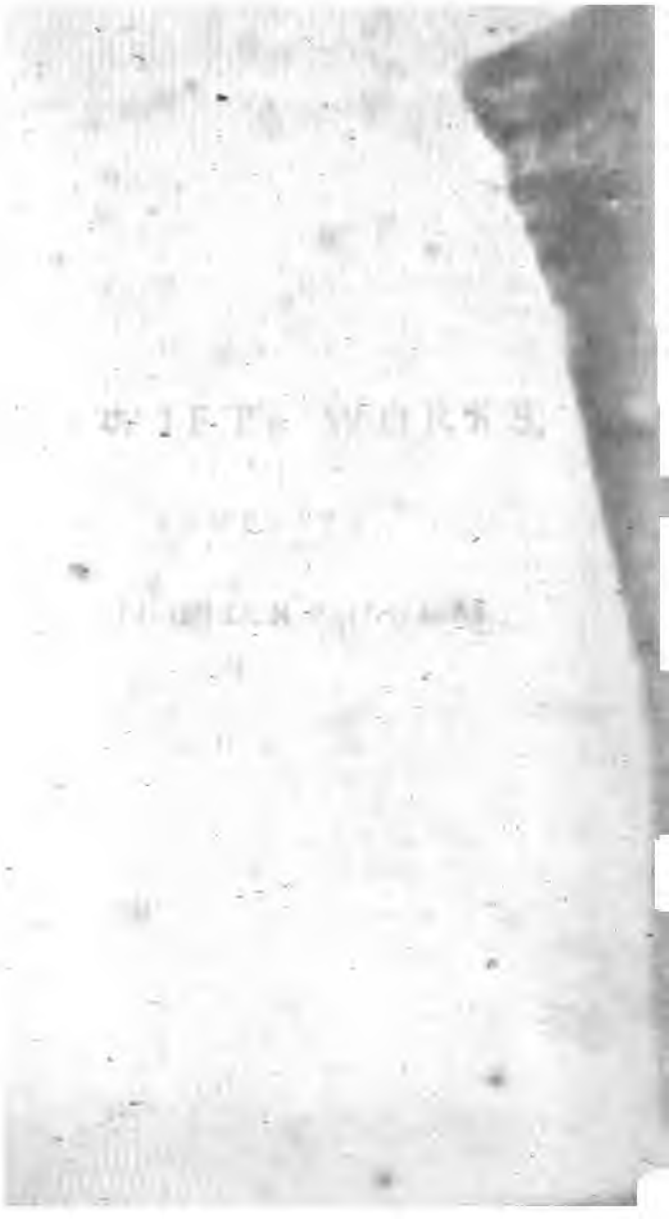

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VOL. IV.

THE

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WITH

An Account of the AUTHOR'S LIFE,

AND

NOTES HISTORICAL, CRITICAL, AND EXPLANATORY,

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A LETTER to the Right Honourable the Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH.

Written in the year 1724.

They compaſſed me about alſo with words of deceit, and fought againſt me without a cauſe.
For my love they are my adverſaries; but I give myſelf unto prayer.
And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love.
Pſal. cix. 3, 4, 5.
Seek not to be judge, being not able to take away iniquity; leſt at any time thou fear the perſon of the mighty, and lay a ſtumbling block in the way of thy uprightneſs.
Offend not againſt the multitude of a city, and then thou ſhalt not caſt thyſelf down among the people.
Bind not one ſin upon another; for in one thou ſhalt not be unpuniſhed. Ecclus. vii. 6, 7, 8.

Non jam prima peto Mneſtheus, neque vincere certo:
Quanquam O! Sed ſuperent quibus hoc, Neptune, dediſti.

DIRECTIONS to the PRINTER.

Mr. HARDING,

WHEN I ſent you my former papers, I cannot ſay I intended you either *good* or *hurt*; and yet you have happened, through my means, to receive *both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *latter*, and encreaſe the *former*. Your trade, particularly in this kingdom, is, of all others, the moſt unfortunately circumſtantiated; for, as you deal in the moſt worthleſs kind of traſh, the penny productions of pennyleſs ſcribblers; ſo, you often venture

your liberty, and ſometimes your lives, for th purchaſe of half a crown; and, by your own ig norance, are puniſhed for other mens actions.

I am afraid, you, in particular, think you hav reaſon to complain of me, for your own and you wife's confinement in priſon, to your great ex pence, as well as hardſhip; and for a proſecutio ſtill impending. But I will tell you, Mr. Hard ing, how that matter ſtands. Since the pre hath lain under ſo ſtrict an inſpection, thoſe, wh have a mind to inform the world, are become ſ cautious, as to keep themſelves, if poſſible, out o the way of danger. My cuſtom, therefore, is t dictate to a prentice, who can write in a feigne hand; and what is written, we ſend to your hou by a blackguard boy. But, at the ſame time, do aſſure you, upon my reputation, that I nev did ſend you any thing for which I thought yo could poſſibly be called to an account. And yo will be my witneſs, that I always deſired you, b a letter, to take ſome good advice, before you ven tured to print; becauſe I knew the *dexterity* o *dealers in the law*, at finding out ſomething to faſte on, where no evil is meant. I am told indeed that you did accordingly conſult ſeveral very abl perſons; and even *ſome*, who afterwards *appear againſt you*: to which I can only anſwer, that yo muſt either change your *adviſers*, or determine t print nothing that comes from a *drapier*.

I deſire you will ſend the incloſed letter, direct ed to my lord viſcount *Moleſworth*, at his hou at *Brackdenſtown*, near Swords: but I would hav

it ſent *printed*, for the convenience of his lordſhip's reading; becauſe this counterfeit hand of my prentice is not very legible. And, if you think fit to publiſh it, I would have you firſt get it read over by ſome *notable* lawyer: I am aſſured, you will find enough of them, who are friends to the *drapier*, and will do it without a fee; which, I am afraid, you can ill afford, after all your expences. For, although I have taken ſo much care, that I think it impoſſible to find a topic out of the following papers, for ſending you again to priſon, yet I will not venture to be your guarantee.

This enſuing letter contains only a ſhort account of myſelf, and an humble apology for my former pamphlets, eſpecially the *laſt*: with little mention of Mr. Wood, or his *halfpence*; becauſe I have already ſaid enough upon that ſubject, until occaſion ſhall be given for *new fears*; and, in that caſe, you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am
From my ſhop in your friend
St. Francis-ſtreet, and ſervant
Dec. 14. 1724. M. B.

P. S. For want of intercourſe between you and me, which I never will ſuffer, * your people are apt to make very groſs errors in the preſs, which I deſire you will provide againſt.

* The copies were always ſent to the preſs by ſome obſcure meſſenger, who never knew the perſon from whom he received them, but gave them in at a window. The amanuenſis only was truſted, to whom, about two years after, the author gave an employment of 40 l. a year, as a reward for his fidelity.

To the Right honourable

The Lord Viſcount MOLESWORTH,

At his Houſe at Brackdenſtown, near Swords.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late, on the maxim of common obſervers, that thoſe, who meddle in matters out of their calling, will have reaſon to repent; which is now verified in me: for, by engaging in the trade of a writer, I have drawn upon myſelf the diſpleaſure of the government, ſignified by a *proclamation*, promiſing a reward of three hundred pounds to the firſt *faithful* ſubject, who ſhall be able and inclined to *inform* againſt me; to which I may add, the *laudable zeal and induſtry* of my lord chief-juſtice Whitſhed, in his endeavours to diſcover ſo dangerous a perſon. Therefore, whether I repent or no, I have certainly cauſe to do ſo; and the common obſervation ſtill ſtands good.

It will ſometimes happen, I know not how, in the courſe of human affairs, that a man ſhall be made liable to *legal* animadverſions, where he hath nothing to anſwer for, either to God or his *country:* and condemned at Weſtminſter-hall, for what he will never be charged with at the *day of judgment.*

After ſtrictly examining my own heart, and conſulting ſome divines of great reputation, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any * *malice* or *wickedneſs*

* Articles mentioned in the indictment and proclamation.

neſs againſt the public; of any *deſigns to ſow ſedition;* of *reflecting on the king and his miniſters:* or of endeavouring *to alienate the affections of the people of this kingdom from thoſe of* England. All I can charge myſelf with, is, a weak attempt to ſerve a nation in danger of deſtruction, by a moſt wicked and malicious projector, without waiting until I were called to its aſſiſtance. Which attempt, however it may perhaps give me the title of *pragmatical* and *overweening*, will never lie a burthen upon my conſcience. God knows, whether I may not, with all my caution, have already run myſelf into a ſecond danger, by offering thus much in my own vindication. For I have heard of a *judge*, who, upon the criminal's *appeal* to the *dreadful day of judgment*, told him, he had incurred a *primunire* for *appealing to a foreign juriſdiction*: and of another in Wales, who ſeverely checked the priſoner for offering the ſame plea; taxing him with reflecting on the court by ſuch a compariſon; becauſe *compariſons are odious*.

But, in order to make ſome excuſe for being more ſpeculative than others of my condition, I deſire your lordſhip's pardon, while I am doing a very fooliſh thing; which is, to give you ſome little account of myſelf.

I was bred at a free ſchool, where I acquired ſome little knowledge in the *Latin tongue*. I ſerved my apprenticeſhip in London, and there ſet up for myſelf, with good ſucceſs; until, by the *death of ſome friends, and misfortunes of others*, I returned into this kingdom; and began to em-

ploy my thoughts in cultivating the *woollen manufacture* through all its branches; wherein I met with great diſcouragement, and powerful oppoſers, whoſe objections appear to me very ſtrange and ſingular. They argued, that the people of England would be offended, if our manufactures were brought to equal theirs: and even ſome of the *weaving* trade were my enemies; which I could not but look upon as *abſurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your lordſhip, at that time, did me the honour to come into my ſhop, where I ſhewed you * a piece of *black and white ſtuff*, juſt ſent from the *dyer*; which you were pleaſed to approve of, and be my beſt cuſtomer for.

However, I was ſo mortified, that I reſolve for the future, to ſit quietly in my ſhop, and deal in *common goods*, like the reſt of my brethren; until it happened, ſome months ago, conſidering with myſelf, that the *lower and poorer ſort of people* wanted a *plain, ſtrong, coarſe ſtuff, to defend them againſt cold* eaſterly *winds, which then blew very fierce and blaſting for a long time together*; I contrived one on purpoſe, which ſold very well all over the kingdom, and preſerved many thouſands from *agues*. I then made a † *ſecond* and a *third* kind of *ſtuffs* for the *gentry*, with the ſame ſucceſs; inſomuch, that an *ague* hath hardly been heard of for ſome time.

This

* By this is meant, the *Propoſal for the univerſal uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures*.

† The *drapier*'s three firſt letters.

This incited me ſo far, that I ventured upon a * *fourth* piece, made of the beſt Iriſh wool I could get: and I thought it grave and rich enough to be worn by the beſt *lord* or *judge* of the land. But, of late, ſome *great folks* complain, as I hear, that when they had it on, they felt a *ſhuddering in their limbs*, and have thrown it off in a rage; curſing to hell the poor *draper*, who invented it; ſo that I am determined never to *work for perſons of quality* again: except for your *lordſhip*, and a *very few more*.

I aſſure your lordſhip, upon the word of an honeſt citizen, that I am not richer, by the value of one of Mr. Wood's halfpence, with the ſale of all the ſeveral *ſtuffs* I have contrived: for, I give the whole profit to the *dyers* and *preſſers* †. And therefore, I hope you will pleaſe to believe, that no other motive, beſides the love of my country, could engage me to buſy my head and hands, to the loſs of my time, and the gain of nothing but *vexation* and *ill-will*.

I have now in hand one *piece of ſtuff* to be woven on purpoſe for your lordſhip; although I might be aſhamed to offer it to you, after I have confeſſed, that it will be made only from the ‡ *ſhreds and remnants of the wool employed in the former*. However, I ſhall *work* it up as well as I can; and, at worſt, you need only give it among your tenants.

I am

* The fourth letter, againſt which the proclamation was iſſued.
† Printers.
‡ Meaning the preſent letter.

I am very ſenſible, how ill your lordſhip is like to be entertained, with the pedantry of a *drapier*, in the terms of his own trade. How will the matter be mended, when you find me entering again, although very ſparingly, into an affair of ſtate? for ſuch is now grown the controverſy with Mr. Wood, if ſome *great lawyers* are to be credited. And as it often happens at play, that men begin with *farthings*, and go on to *gold*, till ſome of them loſe their eſtates, and die in jail: ſo it may poſſibly fall out in my caſe, that, by *playing* too long with Mr. Wood's halfpence, I may be drawn in to pay a *fine*, double to the reward for *betraying* me; be ſent to priſon, and *not be delivered thence, until I ſhall have paid the uttermoſt farthing.*

There are, my lord, three ſorts of perſons, with whom I am reſolved never to diſpute: a *highwayman*, with a piſtol at my breaſt; a *troop of dragoons*, who come to plunder my houſe; and a *man of the law*, who can make a merit of accuſing me. In each of theſe caſes, *which are almoſt the ſame*, the beſt method is, to *keep out of the way;* and the next beſt is, to *deliver your money, ſurrender your houſe*, and *confeſs nothing.*

I am told, that the two points in my laſt letter, from which an occaſion of offence hath been taken, are, where I mention his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe of Lords, upon Mr. Wood's patent; and where I diſcourſe upon Ireland's being a *dependent kingdom.* As to the former, I can only ſay, that I have treated it with

with the utmoſt reſpect and caution: and I thought it neceſſary, to ſhew where Wood's patent differed, in many eſſential parts, from all others that ever had been granted; becauſe the contrary had, for want of due information, been ſo ſtrongly and ſo largely aſſerted. As to the other, of Ireland's *dependency*; I confeſs to have often heard it mentioned, but was never able to underſtand what it meant. This gave me the curioſity to enquire among ſeveral eminent lawyers, who profeſſed they knew nothing of the matter. I then turned over all the ſtatutes of both kingdoms, without the leaſt information, further than an Iriſh act, that I quoted, of the 33d of Henry VIII. uniting Ireland to England under one king. I cannot ſay, I was *ſorry* to be diſappointed in my ſearch, becauſe it is certain, I could be *contented* to *depend* only upon God and my *prince*, and the *laws of my own country, after the manner of other nations.* But, ſince my *betters* are of a *different opinion*, and deſire *further dependencies*, I ſhall outwardly ſubmit; yet, ſtill inſiſting, in my own heart, upon the *exception* I made of M. B. *drapier.* Indeed, that hint was borrowed from an idle ſtory I had heard in England, which, perhaps, may be common and beaten; but, becauſe it *inſinuates neither treaſon nor ſedition*, I will juſt barely relate it.

Some hundred years ago, when the peers were ſo great, that the commons were looked upon as little better than their *dependents*, a bill was brought in, for making ſome new additions to the

power

power and privileges of the peerage. After it was read, one Mr. Drue, a member of the houſe, ſtood up, and ſaid, he very much approved the bill, and would give his vote to have it paſs; but, however, for ſome reaſons, beſt known to himſelf, he deſired, that a clauſe might be inſerted, for *excepting the family of the* Drues. The oddneſs of the propoſition taught others to reflect a little; and the bill was thrown out.

Whether I were miſtaken, or *went too far* in examining the *dependency*, muſt be left to the impartial judgment of the world, as well as to the courts of judicature; although, indeed, not in ſo *effectual* and *deciſive a manner*. But, to affirm, as I hear ſome do, in order to countenance a fearful and ſervile ſpirit, that this point did not *belong to my ſubject*, is a falſe and fooliſh objection. There were ſeveral ſcandalous reports induſtriouſly ſpread by Wood, and his accomplices, to diſcourage all oppoſition againſt his infamous project. They gave it out, that we were prepared for a *rebellion;* that we diſputed the king's *prerogative*, and were ſhaking off our *dependency*. The firſt went ſo far, and obtained ſo much belief againſt the moſt viſible demonſtrations to the contrary, that a *great perſon* of this kingdom, now in England, ſent over ſuch an account of it to his friends, as would make any good ſubject both grieve and tremble. I thought it, therefore, neceſſary, to treat that calumny as it deſerved. Then I proved, by an invincible argument, that we could have no intention to diſpute his Ma-

jeſty's

jeſty's *prerogative;* becauſe the *prerogative* was not concerned in the queſtion; the civilians and lawyers of all nations agreeing, that *copper is not money.* And, laſtly, to clear us from the imputation of ſhaking off our *dependency*, I ſhewed wherein I thought, and ſhall ever think, this *dependency* conſiſted; and cited the ſtatute above mentioned, made in Ireland: by which it is enacted, that *whoever is king of* England, *ſhall be king of* Ireland: and that the two kingdoms ſhall be *for ever knit together under one king.* This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of intending to break our *dependency;* becauſe it was altogether out of our power: for, ſurely, no king of England will ever conſent to the repeal of this ſtatute.

But, upon this article, I am charged with a heavier accuſation. It is ſaid, I *went too far*, when I declared, that "if ever the *pretender* ſhould "come to be fixed upon the throne of England, "(which God forbid) I would ſo far venture to "tranſgreſs this ſtatute, that I would loſe the laſt "drop of my blood, before I would ſubmit to him, "as king of Ireland."

This, I hear on all ſides, is the ſtrongeſt and weightieſt objection againſt me; and which hath given the moſt offence; that I ſhould be ſo bold to declare againſt a direct ſtatute; and that any motive, how ſtrong ſoever, could make me reject a king, whom England ſhould receive. Now, if, in defending myſelf from this accuſation, I ſhould freely confeſs, that I *went too far;* that the expreſſion was very indiſcreet, although occaſioned

caſioned by my zeal for his preſent Majeſty, and his proteſtant line in the houſe of Hanover; that I ſhall be careful never to offend again in the like kind; and that I hope this free acknowledgment, and ſorrow for my error, will be ſome atonement, and a little ſoften the hearts of my powerful adverſaries: I ſay, if I ſhould offer ſuch a defence as this, I do not doubt but ſome people would wreſt it to an ill meaning, by a ſpiteful interpretation. And, therefore, ſince I cannot think of any other anſwer, which that paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the mercy of every candid reader; but ſtill without recanting my own opinion.

I will now venture to tell your lordſhip a ſecret, wherein, I fear, you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore pleaſe to know, that this habit of writing and diſcourſing, wherein I unfortunately differ from *almoſt* the whole kingdom, and am apt to grate the ears of more than I could wiſh, was acquired during my apprenticeſhip in London, and a long reſidence there, after I had ſet up for myſelf. Upon my return and ſettlement here, I thought I had only *changed one country of freedom for another.* I had been long converſant with the writings of your lordſhip,* Mr. Locke, Mr. Molineux, Colonel Sidney, and other dangerous authors, who talk of "liberty as a "bleſſing, to which the whole race of mankind "hath an original title; whereof nothing but "unlawful

* He publiſhed a book, in the reign of King William III. entitled, *The State of Denmark*, with a large preface. *Hawkeſ.*

"unlawful force can diveſt them." I knew a great deal of the ſeveral Gothic inſtitutions in Europe; and by what incidents and events they came to be deſtroyed: and I ever thought it the moſt uncontrolled and univerſally agreed maxim, that "freedom conſiſts in a people's being go-"verned by laws made with their own conſent; "and ſlavery in the contrary." I have been likewiſe told, and believe it to be true, that *liberty* and *property* are words of known uſe and ſignification in this kingdom; and the very lawyers pretend to underſtand, and have them often in their mouths. Theſe were the errors which have miſled me; and to which alone I muſt impute the ſevere treatment I have received. But I ſhall in time *grow wiſer*, and learn to conſider my *driver*, the *road I am in*, and *with whom I am yoked*. This I will venture to ſay, That the boldeſt and moſt obnoxious words I ever delivered, would, in England, have only expoſed me as a ſtupid fool, who went to prove, that *the ſun ſhone in a clear ſummer's day:* and I have witneſſes ready to depoſe, that your Lordſhip hath ſaid and writ fifty times worſe; and, what is ſtill an aggravation, with infinitely more wit and learning, and ſtronger arguments: ſo that, as politics run, I do not know a perſon of more exceptionable principles than yourſelf: and, if ever I ſhall be diſcovered, I think you will be bound, in honour, to pay my fine, and ſupport me in priſon; or elſe I may chance to *inform* againſt you, by way of *repriſal*.

In the mean time, I beg your Lordſhip to receive my confeſſion; that, if there be any ſuch thing as a *dependency* of Ireland upon England, otherwiſe than as I have explained it, either by the *law* of God, of *nature*, of *reaſon*, of *nations*, or of the *land*, (which I ſhall die rather than grant) then was the *proclamation* againſt me the moſt *merciful* that ever was put out; and, inſtead of accuſing me as *malicious*, *wicked*, and *ſeditious*, it might have been directly as guilty of *high treaſon*.

All I deſire, is, that the cauſe of my country againſt Mr. Wood, may not ſuffer by any inadvertency of mine. Whether Ireland depends upon England, or only upon God, the *king*, and the *law*; I hope no man will aſſert, that it *depends* upon Mr. Wood. I ſhould be heartily ſorry, that this *commendable* ſpirit againſt me, ſhould accidentally (and what, *I hope*, was never intended) ſtrike a damp upon that ſpirit in all ranks and corporations of men, againſt the deſperate and ruinous deſign of Mr. Wood. Let my countrymen blot out thoſe parts in my laſt letter, which they diſlike; and let no *ruſt* remain on my *ſword*, to cure the wounds I have given to our moſt mortal enemy. When Sir Charles Sidley was taking the oaths, where ſeveral things were to be *renounced*, he ſaid, he loved *renouncing*; aſked, if any more were to be *renounced*; for he was ready to *renounce* as much as they pleaſed. Although I am not ſo thorough a *renouncer*, yet, let me have but *good city ſecurity* againſt this peſtilent

lent coinage, and I ſhall be ready, not only to *renounce* every ſyllable in all my four letters, but to deliver them cheerfully, with my own *hands*, into *thoſe* of the common *hangman*, to be burnt with no better company than the *coiner's effigies*, if any part of it hath eſcaped out of the *ſecular hands* of my faithful friends, the common people.

But, whatever the ſentiments of *ſome people* may be, I think it is agreed, that many of thoſe, who *ſubſcribed* againſt me, are on the ſide of a vaſt majority in the kingdom, who oppoſed Mr. Wood:* and it was with great ſatisfaction, that I obſerved ſome *right honourable names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the bottom of a *ſtrong declaration* againſt him and his coin. But, if the admiſſion of it among us be *already determined*, the *worthy* perſon who is to *betray* me, ought, in prudence, to do it with all convenient ſpeed; or elſe it may be difficult to find three hundred pounds *Sterling* for the diſcharge of his *hire*, when the public ſhall have loſt five hundred thouſand, if there be ſo much in the nation; beſides four-fifths of its annual income for ever.

* As the Drapier's letters were written expreſly againſt Wood's halfpence, it might well be imagined, that a proclamation againſt the author, would produce an opinion, that, to oppoſe Wood's halfpence, was illegal, and ſubjected the party to pains and penalties: to prevent ſo fatal a miſtake, it is here remarked, that many of thoſe, who ſubſcribed the proclamation, were yet ſtrenuous oppoſers of Wood's project. This diſtinction is yet more explicit in the letter to Lord Middleton, which was written ſoon after the fourth letter, and intended to be the fifth, though, for ſome reaſons, deferred.——See the letter to Lord Middleton, and the note prefixed. *Hawkeſ.*

I am told by lawyers, that in quarrels between man and man, it is of much weight, which of them gave the firſt provocation, or ſtruck the firſt blow. It is manifeſt, that Mr. Wood hath done both: and therefore, I ſhould humbly propoſe to have him firſt *hanged*, and his *droſs* thrown into the ſea: after which, the *drapier* will be ready to ſtand his trial. *It muſt needs be that offences come, but wo unto him by whom the offence cometh.* If Mr. Wood had held his *hand*, every body elſe would have held their *tongues:* and then there would have been little need of *pamphlets*, *juries*, or *proclamations* upon this occaſion. The provocation muſt needs have been very great, which could ſtir up an obſcure, indolent *drapier* to become an *author*. One would almoſt think, the very *ſtones* in the ſtreet would *riſe* up in ſuch a cauſe: and I am not ſure they will not *do ſo* againſt Mr. Wood, if ever he comes within their reach. It is a known ſtory of the dumb boy, whoſe tongue forced a paſſage for ſpeech, by the horror of ſeeing a dagger at his father's throat. This may leſſen the wonder, that a tradeſman, hid in privacy and ſilence, ſhould *cry out*, when the life and being of his political *mother* are attempted before his face, and by ſo infamous a wretch.

But, in the meantime, Mr. Wood, the *deſtroyer* of a kingdom, walks about in triumph, (unleſs it be true, that he is in jail for debt); while he, who endeavoured to *aſſert the liberty of his country*, is forced to *hide his head* for occaſionally dealing in a matter of *controverſy*. However, I am not the

firſt,

firſt, who hath been condemned to death for *gaining a great victory* over a powerful enemy, by diſobeying for *once* the ſtrict orders of military diſcipline.

I am now reſolved to follow (after the uſual proceeding of mankind, becauſe it is too late) the advice given me by a certain *dean*.* He ſhewed the miſtake I was in, of truſting to the general good will of the people; that I had ſucceeded hitherto better than could be expected; but that ſome unfortunate *circumſtantial lapſe* would probably bring me within the reach of *power*; that my good intentions would be no ſecurity againſt *thoſe, who watched every motion of my pen in the bitterneſs of my ſoul.* He produced an inſtance of a perſon, as innocent, as diſintereſted, and as well meaning as myſelf; who had written† a very ſeaſonable and inoffenſive treatiſe, exhorting the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures; for which, however, the printer was proſecuted with the utmoſt virulence; the *jury ſent back nine times*; and the man given up to the mercy of the court. The *dean* further obſerved, that I was in a manner left alone to ſtand the *battle*; while others, who had ten thouſand times better talents than a *drapier*, were ſo prudent as to lie ſtill; and perhaps thought it no unpleaſant amuſement to look on with ſafety, while another was giving them *diver-*

* The author is ſuppoſed to mean himſelf.

† The author means himſelf again; in the diſcourſe adviſing the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures.

ſion, at the hazard of his liberty and fortune; and thought they made a ſufficient recompence, by a little applauſe: whereupon he concluded with a ſhort ſtory of a Jew at Madrid; who being condemned to the fire on account of his religion, a crowd of ſchool-boys following him to the ſtake, and apprehending they might loſe their *ſport* if he ſhould happen to recant, would often *clap him on the back*, and cry, *Sta firme Moyſe* (Moſes *continue ſtedfaſt*.)

I allow this gentleman's advice to have been very good, and his obſervations juſt; and, in one reſpect, my condition is worſe than that of the Jew: for *no recantation will ſave me*. However, it ſhould ſeem by *ſome late proceedings*, that my ſtate is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the ſteadineſs of *two impartial grand-juries*; which hath confirmed in me an opinion I have long entertained, That, as philoſophers ſay, *virtue is ſeated in the middle*; ſo, in another ſenſe, the little *virtue* left in the world, is chiefly to be found among the *middle* rank of mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her paths by *ambition*, nor *driven* by *poverty*.

Since the *proclamation* occaſioned by my laſt letter, and a *due* preparation for proceeding againſt me in a court of juſtice, there have been two printed papers clandeſtinely ſpread about; whereof no man is able to trace the original, further than by *conjecture*; which, with its uſual charity, lays them to my account. The former is entitled, *ſeaſonable advice*, and appears to have been

been intended for information of the grand-jury, upon the ſuppoſition of a bill to be prepared againſt that letter. The other is an extract from a printed book of parliamentary proceedings, in the year 1680; containing an angry reſolution of the houſe of commons in England againſt *diſſolving grand-juries*. As to the former, your lordſhip will find it to be the work of a more artful hand, than that of a common *drapier*. It hath been cenſured for endeavouring to influence the minds of a jury, which ought to be wholly free and unbiaſſed; and, for that reaſon, *it is manifeſt*, that no *judge* was ever known, either *upon* or *off* the bench, either by *himſelf* or his *dependents*, to uſe the *leaſt inſinuation*, that might poſſibly affect the paſſions or intereſts of any one ſingle *juryman*, much leſs of a whole *jury*; whereof every man *muſt* be *convinced*, who will juſt give himſelf the trouble to dip into the common printed trials: ſo that it is amazing to think, what a number of *upright judges* there have been in both kingdoms for above *ſixty years paſt*; which, conſidering how long they held their offices *during pleaſure*, as they *ſtill do among us*, * I account next to a *miracle*.

As to the other paper, I muſt confeſs it is a ſharp cenſure from an Engliſh houſe of commons, againſt *diſſolving grand-juries* by any judge before the end of the term, aſſizes, or ſeſſions, while matters

* Perhaps this may account for Whitſhed's conduct. See the notes prefixed to the *propoſal for the ſole uſe of* Iriſh *manufactures*, and ſuperadded to the *ſeaſonable advice to the grand-jury*, both in vol. III.

matters are under their conſideration and n
preſented, as arbitrary, illegal, deſtructive to pul
lic juſtice, a manifeſt violation of his oath, and
a means to ſubvert the fundamental laws of t
kingdom.

However, the publiſher ſeems to have be
miſtaken in what he aimed at. For, whatev
dependence there may be of Ireland upon En
land, I hope he would not inſinuate, that t
proceedings of a *lord chief juſtice* in Ireland, m
depend upon a *reſolution* of an Engliſh houſe
commons. Beſides, that *reſolution*, although
were levelled againſt a particular lord chief ju
tice, Sir William Scroggs, yet the occaſion w
directly contrary. For Scroggs *diſſolved the gran
jury* of London, for fear they *ſhould* preſent; b
ours in Dublin was *diſſolved*, becauſe they wou
not preſent; which *wonderfully alters the ca*
And therefore, a *ſecond grand-jury* ſupplied th
defect, by making a preſentment * that *pleaſed t
whole kingdom*. However, I think it is agreed
all parties, that both the one and the other *ju*
behaved themſelves in ſuch a manner, as oug
to be remembered to their honour, while the
ſhall be any regard left among us for *virtue
public ſpirit*.

I am confident, your lordſhip will be of n
ſentiments in one thing; that ſome ſhort, plai
authentic tract, might be publiſhed for the info
mation both of *petty* and *grand-juries*, how f
their power reacheth, and where it is limite
ar

* See *the preſentment* at the end of vol. III.

and that a printed copy of such a treatise might be deposited in every court, to be consulted by the jurymen, before they consider of their verdict; by which, abundance of inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable instances might be produced from former times; because I will say nothing of the present.

I have read somewhere of an *eastern* king, who put a *judge* to death for an iniquitous sentence; and ordered his *hide to be stuffed into a cushion*, and placed upon the tribunal for the son to sit on, who was preferred to his father's office. I fancy, such a *memorial* might not have been unuseful to a son of Sir William Scroggs, and that both he and his successors would often *wriggle* in their seats, as long as the *cushion* lasted: I wish the relator had told us what number of such *cushions* there might be in that country.

I cannot but observe to your lordship, how nice and dangerous a point it is grown, for a private person to inform the people, even in an affair, where the public interest and safety are so highly concerned, as that of Mr. Wood; and this in a country, where *loyalty is woven into the very hearts of the people*, seems a little extraordinary. Sir William Scroggs was the first, who introduced that *commendable acuteness into the courts of judicature*; but, how far this practice hath been imitated by his successors, or *strained upon occasion*, is out of my knowledge. When pamphlets, *unpleasing to the ministry*, were presented as libels, he would order the offensive paragraphs to be read before him;

him; and ſaid, it was ſtrange, that the judges and lawyers of the *king's bench* ſhould be duller than all the people of England: and he was often ſo very happy, in applying the initial letters of names, and expounding *dubious hints*, (the two common expedients among writers of that claſs for eſcaping the law) that he diſcovered much *more* than ever the authors intended; as many of them, or their printers, found to their coſt. If ſuch methods are to be followed, in examining what I have already written, or may write hereafter, upon the ſubject of Mr. Wood, I defy any man of fifty times my underſtanding and caution, to avoid being *entrapped;* unleſs he will be content to write what none will read, by repeating over the old arguments and computations, whereof the world is already grown weary. So that my good friend Harding lies under this *dilemma*; either to let my *learned works* hang for ever drying upon his lines; or venture to publiſh them, at the hazard of being laid by the heels.

I need not tell your Lordſhip where the difficulty lies: it is true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to refuſe this coin of Mr. Wood; but, at the ſame time, it is equally true, that the king and the laws *permit* us to receive it. Now, it is *barely poſſible*, that the miniſters in England may not ſuppoſe the conſequence of uttering that braſs among us, to be ſo ruinous as we apprehend; becauſe, perhaps, if they underſtood it in that light, they would, in common humanity, uſe their credit with his Majeſty, for ſaving *a moſt loyal kingdom*

rom deſtruction. But, as long as it ſhall pleaſe great perſons to think, that coin will not be y pernicious to us, we ly under the diſadvan- of being cenſured as obſtinate, in not com- g with a royal patent. Therefore, nothing ins, but to make uſe of that *liberty*, which the and the *laws* have left us, by continuing to e this coin; and, by frequent remembrances, ep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt it, which o- iſe may be apt to flag, and, perhaps, in time, ık altogether. For, any public order, againſt ving or uttering Mr. Wood's halfpence, is reaſonably to be expected in this kingdom, out directions from England; which, I think, ody preſumes, or is ſo ſanguine to hope.

it, to confeſs the truth, my lord, I begin to weary of my office as a writer; and could ily wiſh it were devolved upon my *brethren*, nakers of *ſongs* and *ballads*, who, perhaps, are eſt qualified at preſent, to gather up the glean- of this controverſy. As to myſelf, it hath my misfortune to begin, and purſue it, upon ong foundation. For, having detected the ls and falſhoods of this vile impoſtor Wood, ery part, I fooliſhly *diſdained* to have recourſe *hining*, *lamenting*, and *crying for mercy*: but r choſe to *appeal* to *law* and *liberty*, and *the ion rights of mankind*, without conſidering the te I was in.

nce your laſt reſidence in Ireland, I frequent- ve taken my nag to ride about your grounds; where

where I fancied myſelf to feel an air of *f*
breathing round me; and I am glad the lo
dition of a tradeſman, did not qualify me t
on you at your houſe; for then, I am afra
writings would not have eſcaped *ſeverer ce*
But I have lately ſold my nag, and honeſt
his greateſt fault, which was that of ſnuff
the air about Brackdenſtown; whereby he b
ſuch a lover of *liberty*, that I could ſcarc
him in. I have likewiſe buried, at the b
of a ſtrong cheſt, your lordſhip's writings,
a heap of others, that treat of *liberty:* and
over a *layer* or two of Hobbs, Filmer, Bodi
many more authors of that ſtamp, to be r
at hand, whenever I ſhall be diſpoſed to t
a *new ſet* of principles in government.
mean time, I deſign quietly to look to my
and keep as far out of your lordſhip's influe
poſſible: and, if you ever ſee any more
writings on this ſubject, I promiſe you ſha
them as innocent, as inſipid, and without a
as what I have now offered you. But, if
lordſhip will pleaſe to give me an eaſy le
ſome part of your eſtate in Yorkſhire, thith
I carry my cheſt; and, turning it upſide
reſume my political reading where I left off;
on plain homely fare, and live and die a fr
neſt Engliſh farmer: but not without regre
leaving my countrymen under the dread o
brazen talons of Mr. Wood: my moſt loya
innocent countrymen; to whom I owe ſo

eir good opinion of me, and my poor en-
urs to ſerve them. I am, with the greateſt
t,

My Lord,

your Lordſhip's

moſt obedient

my ſhop in
rancis-ſtreet, and moſt humble ſervant,
14. 1724.

M. B.

: *papers (for the* ſixth and ſeventh letters *were not pub-*
ll long afterwards) prevailed, notwithſtanding threats, pro-
, and impriſonment, againſt all the influence of power, and
rtifices of cunning: perſons of every rank, and every ſect,
with the drapier in the common cauſe; his health was a per-
oaſt, and his effigies were diſplayed in every ſtreet: Wood
pelled to withdraw his patent, and his half-pence were to-
preſſed.

A LETTER to the Lord Chancellor MIDDLETON *.

Written in the year 1724.

[By many paſſages in the following letter, and by the date, Oct. 6. 1724, it appears to have been written ſoon after the proclamation againſt the *drapier*, for his fourth letter, and before the jury had thrown out the bill of indictment. At this criſis, perhaps, the dean did not chooſe to reſume a character which was become obnoxious, and therefore wrote in his own: the original was ſigned with his name, though it appeared to have been obliterated by another hand: for ſome reaſon, the publication of it was delayed, and it was firſt printed in an edition of the dean's works publiſhed at Dublin, in 1735. This, however, is not the only reaſon why it is placed after the fifth letter; for the fifth letter appears to have been ſubſtituted in its ſtead, and not intended to follow it. The fourth letter, both in this and in the fifth, is called the *laſt*, which could not have happened, if both had been parts of the ſame ſeries.

The reader will now eaſily account for thoſe paſſages in the ſixth, by which the proſecution againſt Harding appears to be depending, though, in the fifth, it is mentioned as paſt.]

My LORD,

I Deſire you will conſider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who ſpeaks to a cauſe, when the matter hath been almoſt exhauſted, by thoſe who ſpoke before.

I remember, ſome months ago, I was at your houſe upon a commiſſion, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither, not ſo much on account of the commiſſion, as to aſk you ſome queſtions

* He ſigned the proclamation againſt the Drapier. *Hawkeſ.*

queſtions concerning Mr. Wood's patent to coin half-pence for Ireland; where you very freely told me, in a mixed company, how much you had been always againſt that wicked project *; which raiſed in me an eſteem for you ſo far, that I went, in a few days, to make you a viſit, after many years intermiſſion. I am likewiſe told, that your ſon wrote two letters from London (one of which I have ſeen) empowering thoſe, to whom they were directed, to aſſure his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report ſpread, of his engaging himſelf to Mr. Walpole, for 40,000 l. of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the ſaid report was falſe and groundleſs: and he had never diſcourſed with that miniſter on this ſubject, nor would ever give his conſent to have one farthing of the ſaid coin current here. And, although it be long ſince I have given myſelf the trouble of converſing with people of titles or ſtations; yet I have been told by thoſe, who can take up with ſuch amuſements, that there is not a conſiderable perſon of the kingdom, ſcrupulous in any ſort to declare his opinion. But all this is needleſs to alledge, when we conſider, that the ruinous conſequences of Wood's patent have been ſo ſtrongly repreſented by both houſes of parliament, by the privy-council, the lord mayor and aldermen of Dublin, by ſo many corporations, and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in moſt counties, at their

* Lord Middleton, though he ſigned the proclamation againſt the *drapier*, was yet an enemy to Wood's project, as appears by ſeveral paſſages in this letter. *Hawkeſ.*

quarter-ſeſſions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude, from hence, that the currency of theſe halfpence would, in the univerſal opinion of our people, be utterly deſtructive to this kingdom; and, conſequently, that it is every man's duty, not only to refuſe this coin himſelf, but, as far as in him lies, to perſuade others to do the like: and, whether this be done in private or in print, is all a caſe; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to diſcourſe upon religious or moral ſubjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit (at leaſt in our church.) Neither is this an affair of ſtate, until authority ſhall think fit to declare it ſo: or if you ſhould underſtand it in that ſenſe, yet you will pleaſe to conſider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore, I do think it my duty, ſince the *drapier* will probably be no more heard of, ſo far to ſupply his place, as not to incur his fortune: for I have learnt, from old experience, that there are times, wherein a man ought to be cautious, as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that, preſerving both theſe characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refreſh the memory of my fellow-ſubjects, and keep up that good ſpirit raiſed among them, to preſerve themſelves from utter ruin, by lawful means, and ſuch as are permitted by his majeſty.

I believe, you will pleaſe to allow me two propoſitions: firſt, that we are a moſt loyal people; and, ſecondly, that we are a free people, in the common

common acceptation of that word, applied to a ſubject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did, many years ago, in diſcourſe, differ much, in the preſence of lord Wharton, about the meaning of that word *liberty*, with relation to Ireland. But, if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which, I doubt, my lord chief juſtice Whitſhed would call me to account for, if I venture to beſtow: for I obſerved (and I ſhall never forget upon what occaſion) the device upon his coach to be *libertas et natale ſolum*, at the very point of time when he was ſitting in his court, and perjuring himſelf to betray both *.

Now, as for our loyalty to his preſent Majeſty; if it hath ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am ſure it hath never been exceeded: and I am confident, he hath not a miniſter in England, who could ever call it once in queſtion. But, that ſome hard rumours, at leaſt, have been tranſmitted, from t'other ſide the water, I ſuppoſe you will not doubt: and rumours of the ſevereſt kind; which many good people have imputed to the indirect proceeding of Mr. Wood and his emiſſaries: as if he endeavoured it ſhould be thought, that our loyalty depended upon the teſt of refuſing or taking his copper. Now, as I am ſure you will admit us to be loyal people; ſo, you will think it pardonable in us, to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from ſo gracious a king, that loyal and free people can

* See *the addreſs to both houſes of parliament*, by M. B. *draper*.

expect: among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one; that Wood's halfpence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we ſhall continue to *wiſh*, when we dare no longer expreſs our wiſhes; although there were no ſuch mortal as a *drapier* in the world.

I am heartily ſorry, that any writer ſhould, in a cauſe ſo generally approved, give occaſion to the government and council, to charge him with * "paragraphs, highly reflecting upon his majeſty "and his miniſters; tending to alienate the af- "fections of his good ſubjects in England and "Ireland from each other; and to promote ſedi- "tion among the people." I muſt confeſs, that, with many others, I thought he meant well; although he might have the failing of better writers, to be not always fortunate in the manner of expreſſing himſelf.

However, ſince the *drapier* is but one man, I ſhall think I do a public ſervice, by aſſerting, that the reſt of my countrymen are wholly free from learning, out of *his* pamphlets, to reflect on the king or his miniſters, and to breed ſedition.

I ſolemnly declare, that I never once heard the leaſt reflection caſt upon the king, on the ſubject of Mr. Wood's coin: for, in many diſcourſes on this matter, I do not remember his majeſty's name to be ſo much as mentioned. As to the miniſtry in England, the only two perſons hinted at, were, the Duke of Graſton and Mr. Walpole: the former, as I have heard you, and a hundred others affirm,

* In the *drapier's* 4th letter.

affirm, declared, that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr. Wood, before it was passed, although he was then lord lieutenant: and, therefore, I suppose every body believes, that his grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr. Walpole was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter W. in several news-papers; where it is said, that some expressions fell from him, not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which, the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the *drapier* wholly clears Mr. Walpole of this charge, by very strong arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion, that Mr. Walpole favoured Mr. Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and, for my own part, never once opened my lips against that minister, either in mixed or particular meetings: and my reason for this reservedness was, because it pleased him, in the *queen's* time, (I mean queen Anne, of ever blessed memory) to make a speech directly against me, by name, in the house of commons, as I was told, a very few minutes after, in the court of *requests*, by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here, (if any thing here may be called great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by public voice to be chief minister, will, among the general talkers, share the blame, whether justly or no, of every thing that is disliked; which I could easily

fily make appear, in many inſtances, from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the caſe of the * greateſt, the wiſeſt, and the moſt uncorrupt miniſter I ever converſed with.

But, whatever unpleaſing opinion ſome people might conceive of Mr. Walpole, on account of thoſe halfpence, I dare boldly affirm, it was entirely owing to Mr. Wood. Many perſons of credit, come from England, have affirmed to me, and others, that they have ſeen letters under his hand, full of arrogance and inſolence towards Ireland, and boaſting of his favour with Mr. Walpole; which is highly probable; becauſe he reaſonably thought it for his intereſt, to ſpread ſuch a report, and becauſe it is the known talent of low and little ſpirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.

Thus, I have ſufficiently juſtified the people of Ireland, from learning any bad leſſon out of the *drapier*'s pamphlets, with regard to his majeſty and his miniſters: and, therefore, if thoſe papers were intended to ſow ſedition among us, God be thanked, the ſeeds have fallen upon a very improper ſoil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other; I believe the *drapier*, whatever his intentions were, hath left that matter juſt as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in country as in town; and therefore take myſelf to be

* *Suppoſed to be the Lord Treaſurer* Oxford.

be as well informed as moſt men, in the diſpoſitions of each people towards the other. By the people, I underſtand here, only the bulk of the common people; and I deſire no lawyer may diſtort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of induſtry and parſimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the eaſineſs of their rents, makes them rich and ſturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico; farther than that it is a country ſubject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Iriſh *papiſts*, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops ſent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England, if this whole iſland were ſunk into the ſea: for they have a tradition, that every forty years there muſt be a rebellion in Ireland. I have ſeen the groſſeſt ſuppoſitions paſs upon them; that the *wild* Iriſh were taken in toils; but that, in ſome time, they would grow ſo tame, as to eat out of our hands. I have been aſked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours, your tenants at Pepper-hara, whether I had come from Ireland by ſea? and, upon the arrival of an Iriſh *man* to a country town, I have known crouds coming about him, and wondering to ſee him look ſo much better than themſelves.

A gentleman now in Dublin, affirms, that, paſſing, ſome months ago, through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a hurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations; upon aſking the cauſe, he was told, it was for joy that the Iriſh had ſubmitted

mitted to receive Wood's halfpence. This, I think, plainly ſhews what ſentiments that large town hath of us; and how little they made it their own caſe: although they ly directly in our way to London, and therefore, cannot but be frequently convinced, that we have human ſhapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they conſiſt either of Iriſh *papiſts*, who are as inconſiderable in point of power, as the women and children; or of Engliſh *proteſtants*, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may poſſibly ſometimes complain when they think they are hardly uſed: however, I confeſs, I do not ſee that it is of any great conſequence, how their perſonal affections ſtand to each other, while the ſea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the ſame prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether thoſe from England have reaſon to complain, when they come hither in purſuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reaſon to boaſt, when they go to England upon the ſame deſign?

My ſecond propoſition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I ſuppoſe, you will allow, at leaſt with certain limitations remaining in your own breaſt. However, I am ſure it is not criminal to affirm; becauſe the words *liberty* and *property*, as applied to the ſubject, are often mentioned in both houſes of parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below; from whence it muſt follow, that the people of Ireland do, or *ought* to enjoy all the benefits of the common and ſtatute law;

law; such as, to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and silver; I do not see why any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of William Wood; who is endeavouring, by fraud, to rob us of that property, which the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the *drapier*'s case in another light, by supposing, that a person going into his shop should agree for thirty shillings worth of goods, and force the seller to take his payment in a parcel of copper-pieces, intrinsically not worth above a crown: I desire to know, whether the *drapier* would not be actually robbed of five and twenty shillings; and how far he could be said to be master of his property? The same question may be applied to rents and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatsoever.

Give me leave to do, what the *drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it stands in view of the world.

One William Wood, Esq; and hardware-man, obtains by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000 l. in copper, to pass in Ireland, leaving us at liberty to take or to refuse. The people here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin: to justify these declarations, they generally

rally offer two reaſons; firſt, becauſe by the words of the patent they are at left to their own choice; and ſecondly, becauſe they are not obliged by law: ſo that you ſee there is *bellum atque virum*; a kingdom on one ſide, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr. Wood gets the victory at the expence of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thouſand pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himſelf; I doubt, both preſent and future ages will at leaſt think it a very ſingular ſcheme.

If this fact be truly ſtated, I muſt confeſs, I look upon it as my duty, ſo far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty, and of decency, to warn my fellow-ſubjects, as they value their king, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no, not ſo much as one ſingle half-penny: for if one ſingle thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I ſhall be thus employed, I will never give myſelf leave to ſuppoſe that what I ſay, can either offend my † lord lieutenant, whoſe perſon and great qualities I have always highly reſpected (as I am ſure his excellency will be my witneſs) or the miniſters in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much leſs the privy-council here; who, as I am informed, did ſend an addreſs to his majeſty againſt Mr. Wood's coin; which, if it be a miſtake, I deſire I may

† Lord Carteret, now Earl Granville.

may not be accuſed for a ſpreader of falſe news; it I confeſs, I am ſo great a ſtranger to affairs, at, for any thing I know, the whole body of the uncil may ſince have been changed: and al-ough I obſerved ſome of the very ſame names a late declaration againſt that coin, which I w ſubſcribed to the proclamation againſt the *apier*, yet poſſibly they may be different perſons; r they are utterly unknown to me, and are like continue ſo.

In this controverſy, where the reaſoners on ach ſide are divided by St. George's channel, is majeſty's prerogative perhaps would not have een mentioned, if Mr. Wood and his advocates ad not made it neceſſary, by giving out, that the urrency of his coin ſhould be enforced by a pro-lamation. The traders and common people of he kingdom were heartily willing to refuſe this oin; but the fear of a proclamation, brought a-ong with it moſt dreadful apprehenſions. It was herefore abſolutely neceſſary for the *drapier* to emove this difficulty; and accordingly, in one of is former pamphlets, he produced invincible ar-guments, (wherever he picked them up) that the ing's prerogative was not at all concerned in the natter; ſince the law had ſufficiently provided a-gainſt any coin to be impoſed on the ſubject, ex-cept gold and ſilver; and that copper is not mo-ney, but, as it hath been properly called, *nummo-rum famulus*.

The three former letters from the *drapier*, hav-ing not received any public cenſure, I look upon

them to be without exception; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that ſpirit raiſed againſt this deſtructive coin of Mr. Wood. As for this laſt letter, againſt which a proclamation is iſſued; I ſhall only ſay, that I could wiſh it were ſtripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal: but being naturally ſomewhat ſlow of comprehenſion, no lawyer, and apt to believe the beſt of thoſe who profeſs good deſigns, without any viſible motive either of profit or honour; I might pore for ever, without diſtinguiſhing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greateſt offence in this laſt letter †, is, where the *drapier* affirms, that if a rebellion ſhould prove ſo ſucceſsful, as to fix the *pretender* on the throne of England, he would venture ſo far to tranſgreſs the Iriſh ſtatute, which unites Ireland to England under one king, as to loſe every drop of his blood to hinder him from being king of Ireland.

I ſhall not preſume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would tranſgreſs a ſtatute; and a ſtatute of ſuch importance: but, with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion and deſire of pardon for a very innocent miſtake, I ſhould be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at leaſt ſome ſmall extenuation of his crime: for, in this, I confeſs myſelf to think with the *drapier*.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections

† Letter 4. See the note prefixed to this letter.

jections againſt that pamphlet; but I ſuppoſe, they will all appear at the proſecution of the *drapier*. And I think, whoever, in his own conſcience, believes the ſaid pamphlet to be wicked and malicious, ſeditious and ſcandalous, highly reflecting upon his majeſty and his miniſters, *&c.* would do well to diſcover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers) although the reward of 300 l. had not been tacked to the diſcovery. I own, it would be a great ſatisfaction to me to hear the arguments, not only of judges, but of lawyers, upon this caſe. Becauſe you cannot but know, there often happen occaſions, wherein it would be very convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be informed how they ought to conduct themſelves; and therefore, it hath been the wiſdom of the Engliſh parliaments to be very reſerved in limiting the preſs. When a bill is debating in either houſe of parliament there, nothing is more uſual, than to have the controverſy handled by pamphlets on both ſides, without the leaſt animadverſion upon the authors.

So here, in the caſe of Mr. Wood and his coin; ſince the two houſes gave their opinion by addreſſes, how dangerous the currency of that copper would be to Ireland, it was without all queſtion both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people ſhould be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would have the ſenſe to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particu-

lar perſons, to whom God hath given zeal and underſtanding ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking. Thus it happened in the caſe of that deſtructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into parliament a few years ago; and it was allowed, that the arguments and writings of ſome without doors, contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I ſhould be heartily glad, if ſome able lawyers would preſcribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters; becauſe a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet ſtander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, hath ſome ſhare in the public; and therefore the care of the public is in ſome degree every ſuch man's concern.

To come to particulars; I could wiſh to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer, ſo much as to mention the prerogative; at leaſt, ſo far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatſoever. I know it is often debated in Weſtminſter-hall; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that ſubject in their books?

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends, to force coin upon the ſubject, which is not ſterling; ſuch as lead, braſs, copper, mixed metal, ſhells, leather, or any other material; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown ſhall think fit?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phraſe

phraſe of a depending kingdom, as applied to Ireland, and wherein that dependency conſiſteth?

Laſtly, In what points relating to liberty and property the people of Ireland differ, or at leaſt ought to differ, from thoſe of England?

If theſe particulars were made ſo clear, that none could miſtake them, it would be of infinite eaſe and uſe to the kingdom; and either prevent or ſilence all diſcontents.

My lord Sommers, the greateſt man I ever knew of your robe, and whoſe thoughts of Ireland differed, as far as heaven and earth, from thoſe of ſome others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the crown, or the privileges of parliament, ſhould ever be liable to diſpute in any ſingle branch of either; by which means, he ſaid, the public often ſuffered great inconveniencies, whereof he gave me ſeveral inſtances. I produce the authority of ſo eminent a perſon, to juſtify my deſires, that ſome high points might be cleared.

For want of ſuch known aſcertainment, how far a writer may proceed in expreſſing his good wiſhes for his country, a perſon of the moſt innocent intentions may poſſibly, by the oratory and comments of lawyers, be charged with many crimes, which from his very ſoul he abhors; and conſequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in ſome ſtinking jail, merely for miſtaking the purlieus of the law. I have known in my lifetime, a printer proſecuted

and convicted for publiſhing a * pamphlet, where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent as thoſe of a martyr at his laſt prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inſpection, upon the ſubject of Mr. Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my ſermon gave the leaſt offence, as I am ſure none was intended, yet, if it were now printed and publiſhed, I cannot ſay, I would enſure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own perſon from thoſe of a meſſenger.

I have heard the late chief-juſtice Holt affirm, that, in all criminal caſes, the moſt favourable interpretation ſhould be put upon words, that they can poſſibly bear. You meet the ſame poſition aſſerted in many trials for the greateſt crimes; though often very ill practiſed, by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember, at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client, by alledging, that the words were not injurious; for knave, in the old and true ſignification, imported only a ſervant; and villain, in Latin, is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a baily.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a ſtandard maxim for all times and circumſtances, any writer, with a very ſmall meaſure of diſcretion, might eaſily be ſafe;

* Suppoſed to be, A propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures, written by the author.

ſafe; but I doubt, in practice, it hath been frequently controlled, at leaſt before his time: for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a paſſage of Signor Leti, an Italian; who, being in London, buſying himſelf with writing the hiſtory of England, told King Charles II. that he endeavoured, as much as he could, to avoid giving offence; but found it a thing impoſſible, although he ſhould have been as wiſe as Solomon. The king anſwered, that if this were the caſe, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs, as Solomon did: but Leti lay under no public neceſſity of writing, neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worſe, whether he writ or no.

This I mention, becauſe I know it will readily be objected, What have private men to do with the public? what call had a *drapier* to turn politician, to meddle in matters of ſtate? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his ſhop; or his pen in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? he would then have been out of all danger of proclamations and proſecutions. Have we not able magiſtrates and counſellors, hourly watching over the public weal? All this may be true: and yet, when the addreſſes from both houſes of parliament, againſt Mr. Wood's half-pence, failed of ſucceſs, if ſome pen had not been employed, to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refuſing that coin; to detect the fraud, the artifice, and inſolence of the coiner; and to lay open the moſt ruinous

conſequences

conſequences to the whole kingdom, which w
inevitably follow from the currency of the
coin; I might appeal to many hundred thou
people, whether any one of them would ever l
had the courage or ſagacity to refuſe it.

If this copper ſhould begin to make its wa
mong the common ignorant people, we are
vitably undone. It is they who give us the gr
eſt apprehenſion, being eaſily frighted, and gr
to ſwallow miſinformations: for, if every
were wiſe enough to underſtand his own inte
which is every man's principal ſtudy, there w
be no need of pamphlets upon this occaſion:
as things ſtand, I have thought it abſolutely
ceſſary, from my duty to God, my king, and
country, to inform the people, that the procla
tion lately iſſued againſt the *drapier*, doth no
the leaſt affect the caſe of Mr. Wood and his c
but only refers to certain paragraphs in the
pier's laſt pamphlet *, (not immediately rela
to his ſubject, nor at all to the merits of the ca
which the government was pleaſed to diſlike
that any man has the ſame liberty to reject,
write, and to declare againſt this coin, whicl
had before: neither is any man obliged to beli
that thoſe honourable perſons (whereof you
the firſt) who ſigned that memorable procla
tion againſt the *drapier*, have at all changed t
opinions with regard to Mr. Wood, or his coi

Therefore, concluding myſelf to be thus far
on a ſafe and ſure foot, I ſhall continue, upon
prc

* The 4th letter.

proper occaſion, as God enables me, to revive and preſerve that ſpirit raiſed in the nation (whether the real author were a real *drapier* or no, is little to the purpoſe) againſt this horrid deſign of Mr. Wood; at the ſame time, carefully watching every ſtroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public cenſure of the world as a writer, not of my lord chief-juſtice Whitſhed as a criminal. Whenever an order ſhall come out by authority, forbidding all men, upon the higheſt penalties, to offer any thing in writing, or diſcourſe, againſt Mr. Wood's halfpence, I ſhall certainly ſubmit. However, if that ſhould happen, I am determined to be ſomewhat more than the laſt man in the kingdom to receive them; becauſe I will never receive them at all: for, although I know how to be ſilent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience againſt my conſcience, and the public ſafety.

I deſire to put a caſe, which I think the *drapier*, in ſome of his books, hath put before me; although not ſo fully as it requires.

You know, the copper halfpence in England are coined by the public; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now, ſuppoſe that, inſtead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to ſome private, obſcure perſon, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr. Wood is preparing in this; and all of it, at leaſt, five times below the intrinſic value: the current money of England is reckoned to be twenty millions; and ours under

500,000

500,000 pounds *: by this computation, as Mr. Wood hath power to give us 108,000 pounds; ſo the patentee in England, by the ſame proportion, might circulate 4,320,000 pounds, beſides as much more by ſtealth and counterfeits. I deſire to know from you, whether the parliament might not have addreſſed upon ſuch an occaſion; what ſucceſs they probably would have had; and how many *drapiers* would have riſen, to peſter the world with pamphlets: yet that kingdom would not be ſo great a ſufferer as ours, in the like caſe; becauſe their caſh would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but lie hid in the cheſts of cautious, thrifty men, until better times. Then I deſire, for the ſatisfaction of the public, that you will pleaſe to inform me, why this country is treated in ſo very different a manner, in a point of ſuch high importance; whether it be on account of Poining's act; of ſubordination; dependence; or any other term of art, which I ſhall not conteſt, but am too dull to underſtand.

I am very ſenſible, that the good or ill ſucceſs of Mr. Wood will affect you leſs than any perſon of conſequence in the kingdom; becauſe I hear you are ſo prudent as to make all your purchaſes in England; and truly ſo would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years purchaſe; becauſe I ſhould be glad to poſſeſs a freehold, that could not be taken from me by any law, to which I did not give my own conſent; and where I ſhould never be in danger of receiving my

* It is ſince ſunk to 200,000 l.

my rents in mixt copper, at the loſs of ſixteen ſhillings in the pound. You can live in eaſe and plenty at Pepper-hara in Surry; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-ſpirited in you, to be of the kingdom's ſide in this diſpute, by ſhewing, without reſerve, your diſapprobation of Mr. Wood's deſign; at leaſt, if you have been ſo frank to others, as you are to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, conſidering how much we differ in other points; and, therefore, I could get but few believers, when I attempted to juſtify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *drapier*'s obſervation. If theſe halfpence ſhould once gain admittance, it is agreed, that, in no long ſpace of time, what by the clandeſtine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and thoſe of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or ſilver viſible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a neceſſity of tranſmitting money from England, to pay the ſalaries at leaſt of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for inſtance) could ſupport his dignity with a thouſand pounds a-year in Wood's coin; which would not intrinſically be worth near two hundred. To argue that theſe halfpence, if no other coin were current, would anſwer the general ends of commerce among ourſelves, is a great miſtake; and the

the *drapier* hath made that matter too clear to admit an anſwer, by ſhewing us, what every owner of land muſt be forced to do with the products of it in ſuch a diſtreſs. You may read his remarks at large, in his ſecond or third letter; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but obſerve, that, for ſeveral months paſt, there have more papers been written in this town, ſuch as they are, all upon the beſt public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps hath been known in any other nation in ſo ſhort a time: I ſpeak in general, from the *drapier* down to the maker of ballads; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers; which are, profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am aſſured, by perſons of credit, that the beſt ballad upon Mr. Wood, will not yield above a groat to the author; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding * declares, he never made the *drapier* any preſent, except one pair of ſciſſars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court, by oppoſing Mr. Wood, is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon ſo tranſitory a ſubject, and in ſo obſcure a corner of the world, to diſtinguiſh himſelf as an author. So that I look upon myſelf, the *drapier*, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our ſeveral degrees.

All that the public can expect for the future, is, only to be ſometimes warned to beware of Mr. Wood's

* The printer of the drapier's letters.

Wood's halfpence; and to be referred for conviction to the *drapier*'s reaſons. For, a man of the moſt ſuperior underſtanding will find it impoſſible to make the beſt uſe of it, while he writes in conſtraint; perpetually ſoftening, correcting, or blotting out expreſſions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himſelf, under a proſecution from my lord chief-juſtice Whitſhed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who, being ſoundly beaten by a weaver, for letting a ſtone (which he always carried on his ſhoulder) fall upon a ſpaniel, apprehended, that every cur he met was of the ſame ſpecies.

For theſe reaſons, I am convinced, that what I have now written, will appear low and inſipid; but, if it contributes in the leaſt to preſerve that union among us, for oppoſing this fatal project of Mr. Wood, my pains will not be altogether loſt.

I ſent theſe papers to an eminent lawyer (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain) who, after many alterations, returned them back, with aſſuring me, that they are perfectly innocent; without the leaſt mixture of treaſon, rebellion, ſedition, malice, diſaffection, reflection, or wicked inſinuation whatſoever.

If the bell-man of each pariſh, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night, Paſt twelve o'clock; Beware of Wood's halfpence; it would probably cut off the occaſion for publiſhing any more pamphlets, provided that, in country towns, it were done upon market-days. For my own

part, as ſoon as it ſhall be determined, that it not againſt law, I will begin the experiment in t liberty of St. Patrick's; and hope my example m be followed in the whole city. But if authori ſhall think fit to forbid all writings, or diſcourſ upon this ſubject, except ſuch as are in favour Mr. Wood, I will obey as it becomes me; onl when I am in danger of burſting, I will go a whiſper among the reeds, not any reflection up the wiſdom of my countrymen; but only the few words, *BEWARE OF* WOOD'S *HAL PENCE.*

I am,

with due reſpect,

your moſt obedient,

Deanry-houſe,
Oct. 26. 1724.

humble ſervant,

J. S

A

AN HUMBLE ADDRESS to both Houſes of PARLIAMENT.*

By M. B. Drapier.

Multa gemens ignominiam plagaſque ſuperbi
Victoris.——

I Have been told, that petitions and addreſſes, to either king or parliament, are the right of every ſubject; provided they conſiſt with that reſpect, which is due to princes and great aſſemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modeſt propoſals or opinions of private men have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the ſtyle of advice; which is a preſumption far from my thoughts. However, if propoſals ſhould be looked upon as too aſſuming; yet, I hope, every man may be ſuffered to declare his own and the nation's wiſhes. For inſtance; I may be allowed to wiſh, that ſome further laws were enacted for the advancement of trade; for the improvement of agriculture, now ſtrangely neglected, againſt the

* This addreſs is without a date; but it appears to have been written during the firſt ſeſſion of parliament in lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inſerted with the preceding letter in the Dublin edition of 1735.

Among other inaccuracies in the Iriſh edition, two dates are aſſigned to the following tract: in the advertiſement prefixed, it is ſaid to have been written the firſt ſeſſion of Carteret's government; and in the title-page, to be written before his arrival. *Hawkeſ.*

maxims of all wiſe nations; for ſupplying the manifeſt defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees; for ſetting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty wiſh of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the parliament in this ſeſſion would begin by ſtrictly examining into the deteſtable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hard-ware man; who illegally and clandeſtinely, as appears by our own votes and addreſſes, procured a patent in England for coining half-pence in that kingdom, to be current here. This, I ſay, is the wiſh of the whole nation, very few excepted; and, upon account of thoſe few, is more ſtrongly and juſtly the wiſh of the reſt: thoſe few conſiſting either of Wood's confederates, ſome obſcure tradeſmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS, of weak judgement and ſtrong ambition, who think to find their account in the ruin of the nation, by ſecuring or advancing themſelves. And, becauſe ſuch men proceed upon a ſyſtem of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter ſtrangers, I ſhall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleaſed to ſuppoſe me in a ſtation of fifteen nundred pounds a year, ſalary and perquiſites; and likewiſe poſſeſſed of 800 l. a year real eſtate. Then ſuppoſe a deſtructive project to be on foot; ſuch, for inſtance, as this of Wood; which, if it ſucceed, in all the conſequences naturally to be expected from it, muſt ſink the rents and wealth

of

of the kingdom one half, (although I am confident, it would have done ſo five-ſixths.) Suppoſe, I conceive that the countenancing, or privately ſupporting this project, will pleaſe thoſe by whom I expect to be preſerved, or higher exalted; nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loſs, and ſum up the whole. I ſuppoſe that I ſhall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This, at 1500 l. a year, amounts in ten years to 15,000 l. My eſtate, by the ſucceſs of the ſaid project, ſinks 400 l. a year; which, at twenty years purchaſe, is but 8000 l.; ſo that I am a clear gainer of 7000 l. upon the balance. And during all that period, I am poſſeſſed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on my enemies. And, if the project miſcarry, my private merit is ſtill entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practiſed, and applied in conjunctures, whereon depended the ruin or ſafety of a nation: although probably the charity and virtue of a ſenate will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be ſuch monſters among mankind. And yet the wiſe lord Bacon mentions a ſort of people, (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would ſet a houſe on fire for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame.

But whoever is old enough to remember, and hath turned his thoughts to obſerve the courſe of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the revolution, muſt acknowledge, that the higheſt

points of intereſt and liberty have been often ſacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular perſons, upon the very principles and arithmetic that I have ſuppoſed: the only wonder is, how theſe artiſts were able to prevail upon numbers, and influence even public aſſemblies to become inſtruments for effecting their execrable deſigns.

It is, I think, in all conſcience, latitude enough for vice, if a man in ſtation be allowed to act injuſtice upon the uſual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, ſerving his party, or conſulting his preferment, while his wickedneſs terminates in the ruin only of particular perſons. But, to deliver up our whole country, and every living ſoul who inhabits it, to certain deſtruction, hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the moſt favourable caſuiſts on the ſide of corruption. It were far better, that all, who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom, ſhould be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatſoever above the degree of a conſtable, (according to the ſcheme and intention of a great miniſter † gone to his own place) than to live under the daily apprehenſions of a few falſe brethren among ourſelves. Becauſe, in the former caſe, we ſhould be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed; ſince none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true, that in this deſperate affair of the new halfpence, I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a ſhop-keeper to have been hitherto

† The late Earl of Sunderland.

therto ſo bold, as in direct terms to vindicate the fatal project, although I have been told of ſome very mollifying expreſſions which were uſed, and very gentle expedients propoſed and handed about, when it firſt came under debate: but ſince the eyes of the people have been ſo far opened, that the moſt ignorant can plainly ſee their own ruin in the ſucceſs of Wood's attempt, theſe grand compounders have been more cautious.

But that the ſame ſpirit ſtill ſubſiſts, hath manifeſtly appeared (among other inſtances of great compliance) from certain circumſtances, that have attended ſome late proceedings * in a court of judicature. There is not any common-place more frequently inſiſted on by thoſe who treat of our conſtitution, than the great happineſs and excellency of trials by juries: yet if this bleſſed part of our law be eludable at pleaſure, by the force of power, frowns and artifice, we ſhall have little reaſon to boaſt of our advantage in this particular, over other ſtates or kingdoms in Europe. And ſurely theſe high proceedings, exerciſed in a point that ſo nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their neceſſary ſubſiſtence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; becauſe it was obvious, that ſo much ſuperabundant zeal could have no other deſign, or produce any other effect, than to damp that ſpirit raiſed in the nation

* By Chief-Juſtice Whitſhed, whoſe method with a jury may be ſeen in the note which follows the propoſal for the uſe of Iriſh manufactures, and that at the end of ſeaſonable advice to a grand-jury. *Hawkeſ.*

nation againſt this accurſed ſcheme of William Wood and his abettors; to which ſpirit alone we owe, and for ever muſt owe, our being hitherto preſerved, and our hopes of being preſerved for the future, if it can be kept up, and ſtrongly countenanced by your wiſe aſſemblies. I wiſh I could account for ſuch a demeanor upon a more charitable foundation, than that of putting our intereſt in over-balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember, ſome months ago, when this affair was freſh in diſcourſe, a perſon nearly allied to SOMEBODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance, to ſhew the bad conſequences that might follow from any public reſentment to the diſadvantage of his ally, Mr. Wood; principally alledging the danger of all employments being diſpoſed of from England. One of theſe emiſſaries came to me, and urged the ſame topic. I anſwered naturally, that I knew there was no office of any kind, which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his aſking; and that I looked upon all who had the diſadvantage of being born here, as only in the condition of leaſers and gleaners. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of the country man, who intreated his aſs to fly for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the aſs refuſed to give himſelf that trouble, and upon a very wiſe reaſon; becauſe he could not poſſibly change his preſent maſter for a worſe: the enemy could not make him fare harder,

er, beat him more cruelly, or load him with ier burdens.

pon theſe, and many more conſiderations, I affirm it to be the wiſh of the whole nation, the power and privileges of juries were de- d, aſcertained, and confirmed by the legiſ- e; and that whoever hath been manifeſtly /n to violate them, might be ſtigmatized by c cenſure; not from any hope that ſuch a ire will amend their practices, or hurt their eſt, (for it may probably operate quite con- in both) but that the nation may know enemies from their freinds.

ay not this with any regard or view to my- for I write in great ſecurity; and am reſol- hat none ſhall merit at my expence, further by ſhewing their zeal to diſcover, proſecute condemn me, for endeavouring to do my duty rving my country: and yet I am conſcious to lf, that I never had the leaſt intention to ſt on his majeſty's miniſters, nor on any perſon, except William Wood, whom I ier did, nor do yet conceive to be of that num-

However, ſome would have it, that I went ar; but I ſuppoſe they will now allow them- s miſtaken. I am ſure I might eaſily have further; and I think I could not eaſily have worſe. And therefore I was no further af- d with their proclamation, and ſubſequent edings, than a good clergyman is with the of the people. And as to the poor printer,

he

he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great aſſemblies, the general wiſhes of the nation; and as I have already declared it our principal wiſh, that your firſt proceeding would be, to examine into the pernicious fraud of William Wood; ſo I muſt add, as the univerſal opinion, that all ſchemes of commutation, compoſition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the moſt pernicious conſequences to the public; againſt the dignity of a free kingdom; and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the ſame deſtructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at preſent diſputes, that even a connivance to admit one thouſand pounds in theſe halfpence, will produce in time the ſame ruinous effects, as if we openly conſent to admit a million. It were therefore infinitely more ſafe and eligible, to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy ſtate they are at preſent, (which, however, God forbid) and truſt entirely to the general averſion of our people againſt this coin, uſing all honeſt endeavours to preſerve, continue and increaſe that averſion, than ſubmit to apply thoſe palliatives, which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are upon all occaſions, and in all diſeaſes, ſo ready to adminiſter.

In the ſmall compaſs of my reading (which however hath been more extenſive than is uſual to men of my inferior calling) I have obſerved, that grievances have always preceded ſupplies; and

id if ever grievances had a title to ſuch a pre-
ninence, it muſt be this of Wood; becauſe it
not only the greateſt grievance that any country
uld ſuffer, but a grievance of ſuch a kind, that,
it ſhould take effect, would make it impoſſible
r us to give any ſupplies at all, except adulterate
pper; unleſs a tax were laid for paying the civil
id military liſts, and the large penſions, with
al commodities inſtead of money; which, how-
er, might be liable to ſome few objections, as
ell as difficulties: for although the common ſol-
ers might be content with beef and mutton, and
ool, and malt and leather; yet I am in ſome
oubt as to the generals, the colonels, the nu-
ierous penſioners, the civil officers and others,
ho all live in England upon Iriſh pay, as well
s thoſe few who reſide among us, only becauſe
hey cannot help it.

There is one particular, which, although I have
nentioned more than once in ſome of my for-
ner papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a
ittle enlarge upon it; becauſe I do not remem-
er to have read or heard of the like, in the hi-
tory of any age or country; neither do I ever
eflect upon it, without the utmoſt aſtoniſhment.

After the unanimous addreſſes to his ſacred
najeſty, againſt this patent of Wood, from both
ouſes of parliament, which are the three eſtates
of the kingdom; and likewiſe an addreſs from
he privy council, to whom, under the chief go-
ernors, the whole adminiſtration is entruſted;
he matter is referred to a committee of council
in

in London. Wood, and his adherents, are l
on one ſide; and a few volunteers, withou
truſt or direction from hence, on the other.
queſtion (as I remember) chiefly turned upo
want of halfpence in Ireland. Witneſſe
called on the behalf of Wood, of what cre
have formerly ſhewn.* Upon the iſſue, th
tent is found good and legal: all his ma
officers here, not excepting the military,
manded to be aiding and aſſiſting to make
fectual; the addreſſes of both houſes of p
ment, of the privy council, and of the c
Dublin, the declarations of moſt counties
corporations through the kingdom, are altog
laid aſide, as of no weight, conſequence, o
ſideration whatſoever; and the whole kin
of Ireland nonſuited, in default of appear
as if it were a private cauſe between John
plaintiff, and William Row, defendant.

With great reſpect to thoſe honourable pe
the committee of council in London, I hav
underſtood them to be our governors, counſ
or judges. Neither did our caſe turn at all
the queſtion, Whether Ireland wanted halfp
For, there is no doubt, but we do want
halfpence, gold, and ſilver; and we have
berleſs other wants, and ſome that we are n
much as allowed to name, although they ar
culiar to this nation, to which no other is
ject, whom God hath bleſſed with rel
and laws, or any degree of ſoil and ſun-ſ

* In Letter III.

but, for what demerits on our ſide, I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember that our want of halfpence was either affirmed, or denied in any of our addreſſes or declarations againſt thoſe of Wood. We alledged the fraudulent obtaining and executing his patent, the baſeneſs of his metal, and the prodigious ſum to be coined, which might be increaſed by ſtealth, from foreign importation, and his own counterfeits, as well as thoſe at home; whereby we muſt infallibly loſe all our little gold and ſilver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and diſcouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was paſſed without the leaſt reference hither; and without mention of any ſecurity given by Wood to receive his own halfpence upon demand; both which are contrary to all former proceedings in the like caſes. Theſe, and many other arguments we offered; but ſtill the patent went on; and at this day, our ruin would have been half completed, if God in his mercy had not raiſed an univerſal deteſtation of theſe halfpence in the whole kingdom, with a firm reſolution never to receive them, ſince we are not under obligations to do ſo by any law either human or divine.

But, in the name of God and of all juſtice and piety, when the king's majeſty was pleaſed that this patent ſhould paſs, is it not to be underſtood, that he conceived, believed and intended it as a gracious act, for the good and benefit of his ſubjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful

kingdom; of the moſt loyal kingdom upon eart
where no hand or voice was ever lifted up
gainſt him; a kingdom, where the paſſage is n
of three hours from Britain, and a kingdo
where papiſts have leſs power, and leſs land th
in England? Can it be denied, or doubted, th
his majeſty's miniſters underſtood and propoſ
the ſame end, the good of this nation, when th
adviſed the paſſing this patent? Can the perſ
of Wood be otherwiſe regarded, than as the i
ſtrument, the mechanic, the head-workman,
prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and h
ſtamps? If I employ a ſhoe-boy, is it in view
his advantage, or to my own convenience?
mention the perſon of William Wood alone; b
cauſe no other appears, and we are not to reaſ
upon ſurmiſes; neither would it avail, if they h
a real foundation.

Allowing therefore, for we cannot do leſs, th
this patent for the coining of half-pence w
wholly intended by a gracious king, and a wi
public-ſpirited miniſtry, for the advantage of Ir
land; yet, when the whole kingdom to a ma
for whoſe good the patent was deſigned, do, upo
matureſt conſideration, univerſally join in open
declaring, proteſting, addreſſing, petitioning
gainſt theſe half-pence, as the moſt ruinous pr
ject that ever was ſet on foot to complete the ſl
very and deſtruction of a poor innocent country
is it, was it, can it, or will it ever be a queſtio
not whether ſuch a kingdom, or William Woo
ſhould be a gainer; but whether ſuch a kingdo
ſhoul

ſhould be wholly undone, deſtroyed, ſunk, depopulated, made a ſcene of miſery and deſolation, for the ſake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment; and it is our univerſal wiſh, that God would put it into your hearts to be his inſtruments for ſo good a work.

For my own part, who am but one man, of obſcure condition, I do ſolemnly declare in the preſence of almighty God, that I will ſuffer the moſt ignominious and torturing death, rather than ſubmit to receive this accurſed coin, or any other that ſhall be liable to the ſame objections, until they ſhall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and if that ſhall ever happen, I will tranſport myſelf into ſome foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally puniſhable for theſe expreſſions? ſhall another proclamation iſſue againſt me, becauſe I preſume to take my country's part againſt William Wood, where her final deſtruction is intended? But whenever you ſhall pleaſe to impoſe ſilence upon me, I will ſubmit; becauſe I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in ſome manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying ſo long at mercy under ſo vile an adverſary, is ſuch a deplorable aggravation, that the utmoſt expreſſions of ſhame and rage are too low to ſet it forth: and therefore I ſhall leave it to receive ſuch a reſentment, as is worthy of a parliament.

It is likewiſe our univerſal wiſh, that his majeſty ſhould grant liberty to coin half-pence in this kingdom for our own uſe, under ſuch reſtriction as a parliament here ſhall adviſe; ſince the power of coining even gold and ſilver is poſſeſſed by every petty prince abroad; and was always practiſed by Scotland to the very time of the union; yet ſurely Scotland, as to ſoil, climate, and extent, is not in itſelf a fourth part the value of Ireland; (for biſhop Burnet ſays, it is not above the fortieth part in value to the reſt of Britain) and with reſpect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thouſandth part. Although I muſt confeſs, that a mote in the eye, or a thorn in the ſide, is more dangerous and painful than a beam or a ſpike at a diſtance.

The hiſtories of England, and of moſt other countries, abound in relating the miſerable, and ſometimes the moſt tragical effects from the abuſes of coin, by debaſing the metal, by leſſening or enhancing the value upon occaſions, to the public loſs; of which we have an example within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tendereſt point of government, affecting every individual in the higheſt degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unſettled, no man can well be ſaid to have any property at all; nor is any wound ſo ſuddenly felt, ſo hardly cured, or that leaves ſuch deep and laſting ſcars behind it.

I conceive this poor unhappy iſland to have a title to ſome indulgence from England; not only upon

upon the ſcore of chriſtianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immenſe profit they receive from us; without which that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe, from what it doth at preſent.

The rents of land in Ireland, ſince they have been of late ſo enormouſly raiſed and ſcrewed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one third part at leaſt is directly tranſmitted to thoſe, who are perpetual abſentees in England, as I find by a computation made with the aſſiſtance of ſeveral ſkilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether loſers, and England a gainer, we found to amount to almoſt as much more.

I will only ſet down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the conſideration of thoſe who underſtand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The occaſional abſentees, for buſineſs, health, or diverſion.

Three-fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his abſence; which is uſually four-fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the poſt-office.

The numerous penſions paid to perſons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army abſent in England, which is a great ſum.

Four commiſſioners of the revenue, always abſent.

Civil employments very numerous, and of great income.

The vaſt charge of appeals to the houſe of lords, and to the court of delegates.

Students at the inns of court, and the two univerſities.

Eighty thouſand pounds ſent yearly to England for coals; whereof the prime coſt is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thouſand pounds paid ſeveral years paſt for corn ſent over hither from England; the effect of our own great wiſdom in diſcouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian ſtuffs, and callicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, beſides the profit to England, * is an inconceivable loſs to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our ſtreets, or tranſport themſelves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loſs to us, and gain to England, by ſelling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime coſt: a proceeding without example in the chriſtian or heathen world.

Our own wool returned upon us in Engliſh manufactures, to our infinite ſhame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all our mines accruing to England;

* From whence theſe commodities were exported to Ireland, the Eaſt-India company only having a right to import them from the country in which they are manufactured. *Hawkeſ.*

England; an effect of great negligence and ſtupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kinds of goods made in England. *

Theſe and many other articles, which I cannot recollect at preſent, are agreed by judicious men to amount to near ſeven hundred thouſand pounds *per ann.* clear profit to England. And upon the whole, let any man look into thoſe authors who write upon the ſubject of commerce, he ſhall find, that there is not one ſingle article in the eſſentials or circumſtances of trade, whereby a country can be a loſer, which we do not poſſeſs in the higheſt perfection; ſomewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood; and now the branches are all cut off, he ſtands ready with his axe at the root.

Upon this ſubject of perpetual abſentees, I have ſpent ſome time in very inſignificant reflections; and, conſidering the uſual motives of human actions, which are pleaſure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend, how thoſe perſons find their account in any of the three. I ſpeak not of thoſe Engliſh peers or gentlemen, who, beſide their eſtates at home, have poſſeſſions here; for, in that caſe, the matter is deſperate; but I mean thoſe lords, and wealthy knights, or ſquires, whoſe birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune, except ſome trifle, and that in

* Many of the above articles have been ſince particularly computed by another writer, to whoſe treatiſe the reader is referred. *Hawkeſ.*

in a very few inſtances, are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough, during ſeveral years, when I reſided in England; and truly, I could not diſcover, that the figure they made, was, by any means, a ſubject for envy, at leaſt it gave me two very different paſſions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or ſometimes appearing behind a crowd at court, or adding to the ring of coaches in Hyde-Park, or loſing their money at the chocolate-houſe, or getting news, votes, and minutes about five days before us in Dublin; I ſay, beſides theſe, and a few other privileges of leſs importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I uſed to wonder how a man of birth and ſpirit could endure to be wholly inſignificant and obſcure in a foreign country, when he might live with luſtre in his own; and even at leſs than half that expence, which he ſtrains himſelf to make, without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog, when he would needs contend for ſize with the ox. I have been told by ſcholars, that Cæſar ſaid, he would rather be the firſt man in I know not what village, than the ſecond in Rome. This, perhaps, was a thought only fit for Cæſar: but, to be preceded by thouſands, and neglected by millions; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or diſtinction, is not, in my poor opinion, a very amiable ſituation of life to a perſon of title or wealth, who can ſo cheaply and eaſily ſhine in his native country.

But,

But, beſides the depopulating of the kingdom, the leaving ſo many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of ſo many country-ſeats and plantations; the cutting down all the woods, to ſupply expences in England; the abſence of ſo many noble and wealthy perſons, hath been the cauſe of another fatal conſequence, which few, perhaps, have been aware of. For, if that very conſiderable number of lords, who poſſeſs the ampleſt fortunes here, had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs of their own country in parliament; the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble houſe, would, in all human probability, have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to be lamented, becauſe they never can be remedied: and we might have then decided our own properties among ourſelves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by ſea and land to another kingdom for juſtice, to our infinite expence, vexation, and trouble; which is a mark of ſervitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have ſometimes wondered, upon what motives the peerage of England were ſo deſirous to determine our controverſies; becauſe I have been aſſured, and partly know, that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irkſome to that illuſtrious body: and whoever hath frequented the painted chamber, and courts of requeſts, muſt have obſerved, that they are never ſo nobly

bly filled, as when an Iriſh appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were content to reſide in their caſtles and houſes in that *bleak and barren climate;* and although ſome of them made frequent journies to London, yet I do not remember any of their greateſt families, till very lately, to have made England their conſtant habitation before the *union;* or, if they did, I am ſure it was generally *to their own advantage;* and, whatever they got was employed to cultivate and increaſe their own eſtates; and, by that means, enrich themſelves and their country.

As to the great number of rich *abſentees* under the degree of *peers;* what particular ill effects their abſence may have upon this kingdom, beſides thoſe already mentioned, may, perhaps, be too tender a point for me to touch. But, whether thoſe who live in another kingdom, upon great eſtates here, and have loſt all regard to their own country, further than upon account of the *revenues they receive from it:* I ſay, whether ſuch perſons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant ſeats*, who have no intereſt here, except a precarious employment, and conſequently, can have no views, but to preſerve what they have got, or to be higher advanced this, I am ſure, is a very melancholy queſtion, if *it be a queſtion at all.*

But, beſides the prodigious profit which England receives, by the tranſmittal thither of two third

ls of the revenues of this whole kingdom, it another advantage, by making our country a *tacle*, wherein to *diſburden* themſelves of *ſupernumerary* pretenders to office; perſons cond-rate merit in their own country, who, *irds of paſſage*, moſt of them thrive and fat- here, and fly off when their *credit* and *employ- s* are at an end. So that Ireland may juſtly what Luther ſaid of himſelf; *POOR* Ireland *th many rich.*

, amidſt all our difficulties, I ſhould venture ſert, that we have one great advantage, pro- d we could improve it as we ought, I believe of my readers would be long in conjecturwhat *poſſible* advantage could ever fall to our . However, it is certain, that all the *regular* of *party* and *faction* among us, are entirely d out; and if any new ones ſhall ſpring up, muſt be of *equivocal* generation, without any at all; and will juſtly be imputed to a deof ſtupidity beyond even what we have been charged with, upon the ſcore of our *birth-* and *climate.*

he *parties* in this kingdom (including thoſe nodern date) are, firſt, of thoſe who have charged or ſuſpected to *favour the pretender*; thoſe who were *zealous oppoſers of him.* Sellly, Of thoſe who were *for* and *againſt a toion of* diſſenters *by law.* Thirdly, Of *high low-church*; or (to ſpeak in the *cant* of the s) of *whig* and *tory.* And, fourthly, Of t and *country.* If there be any more, they

are

are beyond my obſervation or politics: for, as to *ſubaltern* or *occaſional parties*, they have all been *derivations* from the ſame originals.

Now, it is manifeſt, that all theſe incitements to *faction*, *party*, and *diviſion*, are wholly removed from among us. For, as to the *pretender*, his cauſe is both *deſperate* and *obſolete*: there are very few now alive, who were *men* in his father's time, and in that prince's intereſt; and in all others, the obligation of conſcience hath no place* even the *papiſts*, in general, of any ſubſtance or estates, and their *prieſts*, almoſt univerſally, are what we call *whigs*, in the ſenſe which by that word is generally underſtood. They feel the *ſmart*, and ſee the *ſcars* of their former *wounds* and very well know, that they muſt be made a *ſacrifice* to the leaſt attempts towards a *change*: although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *ſuperſtition* reſtored under any prince whatſoever.

Secondly, The *diſſenters* are now *tolerated by law*: neither do we obſerve any *murmurs* at preſent from that quarter, except thoſe *reaſonable* complaints they make of *perſecution*, becauſe they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very ſmall in either *houſe* of parliament, they are not *yet* in a ſituation to erect a *party*: becauſe, however indifferent men may be with regard to *religion*, they are *now* grown wiſe enough to know, that if ſuch a *latitude* were allowed

* The obligation ariſing from their having ſworn allegiance. *Hawkeſ.*

d to *diſſenters*, the few ſmall employments left
ı cities and corporations would find *other*
r to lay hold on them.

ıirdly, The diſpute between *high* and *low-*
h, is now at an end; two-thirds of the *bi-*
having been promoted in *this* reign, and
of them from England, who have beſtowed
:eferments in their gift to thoſe they could
confide in: the *deanries* all, except three, and
y principal church-livings, are in the dona-
of the crown: ſo that we already poſſeſs
a body of clergy, as will never engage in con-
:rſy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* ſubject.

ıſtly, As to *court* and *country parties*, ſo fa-
s and avowed under moſt reigns in Engliſh
aments; this kingdom hath not, for ſeveral
ı paſt, been a proper ſcene, whereon to exer-
ſuch contentions; and is now leſs proper
ever; many great employments for life be-
in *diſtant* hands, and the *reverſions diligently*
:hed and ſecured: the temporary ones of any
'ing value, are all beſtowed *elſewhere*, as faſt as
drop; and the few remaining are of too low
ideration to create conteſts about them, ex-
among younger brothers, or tradeſmen like
elf. And therefore, to inſtitute a *court* and
try party, without *materials*, would be a very
ſyſtem in politics, and what, I believe, was
:r thought on before; nor, unleſs in *a nation*
iots, can ever ſucceed; for the moſt ignorant
ı cottager will not *ſell his cow for a groat.*

Therefore, I conclude, that all *party* and *j tion*, with regard to public proceedings, are r extinguiſhed in this kingdom:* neither dot appear in view, how they can poſſibly *revive;* leſs ſome new cauſes be adminiſtered; wh cannot be done, *without croſſing the intereſt. thoſe who are the greateſt gainers by continuing ſame meaſures.* And general calamities, *wit hope of redreſs*, are allowed to be the great *un* of mankind.

However we may diſlike the *cauſes*, yet *effect* of begetting an univerſal concord among in all *national debates*, as well as in *cities*, *corp tions*, and *country neighbourhoods*, may keep u leaſt alive, and in a condition to eat the li bread allowed us in *peace* and *amity*. I h heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all wer daggers-drawing, till one of the company c out, deſiring to know the *ſubject of the quar* which, when none of them could tell, they pu their ſwords, ſat down, and paſſed the reſt of evening in *quiet*. The *former part* hath been caſe; I hope the *latter* will be ſo too, that ſhall *ſit down* amicably together, at leaſt until have *ſomething* that may give us a title to fall ſince nature hath inſtructed even a brood *goſlings* to *ſtick together*, while the *kite* is hove over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm *union* in any coun where every man wiſhes the ſame thing, with la

* Since this diſcourſe was written, it hath appeared, by rience, that the author was much miſtaken in his conjectur

lation to the public, may, in ſeveral points of the greateſt importance, in ſome meaſure, ſupply the *defect of power*, and even *of thoſe rights, which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind.* If the univerſal *wiſh* of the nation, upon any point, were declared by the *unanimous* vote of the houſe of commons, and a reaſonable number of lords, I ſhould think myſelf obliged, in conſcience, to act in my ſphere according to that vote; becauſe, in all free nations, I take the proper definition of *law* to be, the *will of the majority of thoſe who have the property in land;* which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal aſſent. And although ſuch *votes* or *declarations* have not received ſuch a confirmation, for certain *accidental reaſons;* yet, I think they ought to be of much weight with the *ſubject*, provided they neither oppoſe the king's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which, however, can reaſonably be ſuppoſed. Thus, for inſtance, if nine in ten of the houſe of commons, and a reaſonable number of native temporal peers, ſhould declare, that, whoever received or uttered *braſs coin*, except under certain limitations and ſecurities, ſhould be deemed as *enemies to the king and the nation;* I ſhould think it a heinous ſin in myſelf, to act contrary to ſuch a vote: and if the ſame power ſhould declare the ſame *cenſure* againſt thoſe who wore Indian ſtuffs and *calicoes*, or *woollen manufactures imported from abroad*, whereby this nation is reduced to the loweſt ebb

of misery, I should *readily*, *heartily*, and *chear*
pay obedience; and, to my utmost power,
suade others to do the like; because there i
law of this land, obliging us either to *receive*
coin, or to *wear such foreign manufactures*.

* Upon this last article I could humbly v
that the reverend the *clergy* would set us an ex
ple, by contenting themselves with wearing gc
and other habiliments of Irish drapery; wh
as it would be some incitement to the *laity*,
set many hands to work, so they would find
advantage in the *cheapness*, which is a circ
stance not to be neglected by *too many* among
venerable body. † And in order to this, I c
heartily desire, that the most ingenious artif
the weaving trade would contrive some de
stuffs and silks for *clergymen* at reasonable rat

I have pressed several of our most substa
brethren, that the whole corporation of *wea*
in silk and woollen, would publish some *proj*
(I wish they would do it to both houses of pa
ment) inviting persons of all degrees and of
sexes, to wear the woollen and silk manufact
of our own country; entering into solemn,
tual engagements, that the buyer shall have g
substantial, merchantable ware for his mo
and at a certain rate, without the troubl
cheaper

* This hath since been put in practice by the persuasion
influence of the supposed author; but much defeated b
most infamous fraud of shopkeepers. *Hawkes.*

† This scheme was likewise often urged to the weavers b
supposed author; but he could never prevail on them to pu
practice. *Hawkes.*

cheapening. So that if I ſent a child for a piece of ſtuff of a particular colour and fineneſs, I ſhould be ſure not to be deceived; or if I had reaſon to complain, the corporation ſhould give me immediate ſatisfaction; and the name of the tradeſman, who did me the wrong, ſhould be publiſhed; and warning given not to deal with him for the future; unleſs the matter plainly appeared to be a miſtake: for, beſides the trouble of going from ſhop to ſhop, an ignorant cuſtomer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodneſs of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and diſhoneſt man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general diſreputation; and the gentry call for Engliſh cloth, or ſilk, from an opinion they have (and often too juſtly by our own faults) that the *goodneſs* more than makes up for the difference of price.

Beſides, it hath been the ſottiſh and ruinous practice of us tradeſmen, upon any great demand of goods either at home or from abroad, to raiſe the prices immediately, and manufacture the ſaid goods more ſlightly and fraudulently than before.

Of theſe foul and fooliſh proceedings, too many inſtances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor kingdom hath received ſuch a fatal blow in the *only article of trade* allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the ſucceſs of Wood's project could outdo it. During the late plague in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection,

a very great demand was made here for that com
modity, and exported to Spain: but, whether l
the ignorance of the merchants, or diſhoneſty
the *northern* weavers, or the colluſion of both, tl
ware was ſo bad, and the price ſo exceſſive, tha
except ſome ſmall quantity which was ſold belo
the prime coſt, the greateſt part was returned
and I have been told by very intelligent perſon
that if we had been fair dealers, the whole cu
rent of the linen trade to Spain, would have tal
en its courſe from hence.

If any puniſhment were to be inflicted on *num
bers of men*, ſurely there could none be thougl
too great for ſuch a race of *traitors* and *enemi*
to God and their country; who, for the proſpe
of a little *preſent* gain, do not only ruin themſelv
(for that alone would be an *example* to the re
and a *bleſſing* to the nation) but ſell their ſouls
hell, and their country to deſtruction. And
the *plague* could have been confined only to tho
who were *partakers in the guilt*, had it travelled h
ther from Marſeilles, thoſe wretches would ha
died with leſs title to *pity* than a *highway-man* g
ing to the gallows.

But it happens very *unluckily*, that for *ſome ti
paſt* all endeavours or propoſals from private pe
ſons to advance the public ſervice, however honel
ly and innocently deſigned, have been called FL
ING IN THE KING'S FACE; and this, to n
knowledge, hath been the ſtyle of *ſome perſon*
whoſe *anceſtors* (I mean thoſe among them wl
had any) and *themſelves*, have been *flying in princ*
fac

faces theſe fourſcore years; and from their own inclinations would do ſo ſtill, if their intereſt did not lead them to *fly in the face* of a kingdom, which hath given them *wings* to enable them for ſuch a *flight*.

Thus, about four years ago, when a diſcourſe * was publiſhed, endeavouring to perſuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the moſt dutiful expreſſions to the king, and without the leaſt *party hint*, it was termed *flying in the king's face*; the *printer* was proſecuted in the manner we all remember, and, I hope *it will ſomewhere* be *remembered further*, the *jury* kept eleven hours, and ſent back nine times, till they were under the neceſſity of leaving the priſoner to the mercy of the court, by a *ſpecial verdict*; the † *judge* on the bench *invoking God for his witneſs*, when he aſſerted, that the author's deſign was to bring in the *pretender*.

And thus alſo my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admiſſion of Wood's coin, were called by the ſame perſons, *flying in the king's face*; which I directly deny: for I cannot allow that *vile* repreſentation of the royal *countenance* in William Wood's adulterate copper, to be his ſacred majeſty's *face*; or, if it were, my *flying* was not againſt the *impreſſion*, but the *baſeneſs* of the *metal*; becauſe I well remembered, that the *image* which Nebuchadnezzar *commanded to be ſet up for all men to fall down and worſhip*

* The propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures.

† Judge Whitſhed.

worſhip it, was not of COPPER but pure GOLD. And I am heartily ſorry, we have ſo few *royal images* of that *metal* among us; the ſight whereof, although it could hardly encreaſe our veneration for his majeſty, which is already ſo great, yet would very much *enliven* it with the mixture of *comfort* and *ſatisfaction*.

Alexander the Great would ſuffer no ſtatuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in ſtone or metal. How muſt he have treated ſuch an operator as Wood, who goes about with *ſack-fulls* of *droſs*, odiouſly miſrepreſenting his prince's *countenance*; and would force them by thouſands upon every one of us at above *ſix times the value*.

But, notwithſtanding all that hath been objected by William Wood himſelf, together with his *favourers*, *abettors*, *ſupporters*, either *public* or *private*; by thoſe who *connive* at this project, or *diſcourage* and *diſcountenance* his *oppoſers* for fear of leſſening their *favour*, or hazarding their *employments*; by thoſe, who endeavour to *damp* the *ſpirit* of the people raiſed againſt this coin, or check the honeſt zeal of ſuch as by their *writings* or *diſcourſes* do all they can to keep it up; by thoſe *ſofteners*, *ſweeteners*, *compounders*, and *expedient-mongers*, who *ſhake* their *heads* ſo ſtrongly that we can *hear their pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the practices of ſuch *enemies* to the kingdom, I was *flying in the king's face*; or thought they were better *repreſenters* of his majeſty, than that very *coin*, for which they are *ſecret* or *open* advocates.

If

If I were allowed to recite only thoſe *wiſhes* of the nation, which may be in our power to attain; I think they might be ſummed up in theſe few following.

Firſt, that an end might be put to our apprehenſions of Wood's half-pence, and to any danger of the *like* deſtructive ſcheme for the future.

Secondly, that half-pence might be coined in this kindom by a public mint with due limitations.

Thirdly, that the ſenſe of both houſes of parliament, at leaſt of the houſe of commons, was declared by ſome *unanimous* and *hearty votes* againſt wearing any ſilk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad; as likewiſe againſt wearing Indian ſilks or calicoes, which are forbidden under the higheſt penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from ſo wiſe a nation; becauſe we are under a *greater neceſſity* to do ſo, ſince *we* are not allowed to *export* any woollen manufactures of our own; which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, that ſome effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer ſort of our natives in all thoſe parts of this kingdom, where the Iriſh abound, by introducing among them our language and cuſtoms; for want of which they live in the utmoſt ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themſelves wholly up to idleneſs, naſtineſs, and thievery, to the very great and juſt reproach of too many landlords. And if I had in me the leaſt ſpirit of a *projector*, I would engage, that this might

might be effected in a few years at a very inconſiderable charge.

Fifthly, that due encouragement ſhould be given to *agriculture*; and a ſtop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engroſſing vaſt quantities of land, ſometimes at great diſtance; whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, that the defects in thoſe acts for planting foreſt trees might be fully ſupplied, ſince they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the demeſnes of a few gentlemen; and even there in general very unſkilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither hath there yet been due care taken to preſerve what is planted, or to encloſe grounds; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity for want of ſkill and induſtry. The neglect of *copſing* woods cut down hath likewiſe been of very evil conſequences. And if men were reſtrained from that unlimited liberty of *cutting down their own woods* before the proper time, as they are in ſome other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe of ſuch a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in ſo ſhort a time, with ſo little advantage to the country either in *ſhipping* or *building*.

I may add that abſurd practice of cutting *turf*, without any regularity; whereby great quantities of reſtorable land are made utterly deſperate, many thouſands of cattle deſtroyed, the *turf* more difficult to come at, and carry home, and leſs fit for burning; the air made unwholſome,

by

by ſtagnating pools and marſhes; and the very ſight of ſuch places offenſive to thoſe who ride by. Neither ſhould that odious cuſtom be allowed, of cutting *ſcraws* (as they call them) which is flaying of the green ſurface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches; ſometimes in ſhallow ſoils, where all is gravel within a few inches; and ſometimes in low grounds, with a thin green ſward, and ſloughy underneath; which laſt turns all into bog by this miſmanagement. And I have heard from very ſkilful country men, that by thoſe two practices in *turf* and *ſcraws*, the kingdom loſeth ſome hundreds of acres of profitable land every year; beſides the irreparable loſs of many ſkirts of bogs, which have a green coat of graſs, and yet are mangled for *turf*; and beſides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be of great convenience for bringing their *turf* home at an eaſy rate, but likewiſe render even the larger bogs more dry and ſafe for ſummer paſture.

Theſe, and ſome other ſpeculations of the like kind, I had intended to publiſh in a particular diſcourſe againſt this ſeſſion of parliament; becauſe, in ſome periods of my life, I had opportunity and curioſity to obſerve, from what cauſes thoſe great errors in every branch of country management have ariſen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof ſome, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all poſſible means to avoid. And, for

for the ſame reaſon, I choſe to add here the li
I thought proper to ſay on this ſubject.

But, as to the lands of thoſe who are *perpe*
abſentees, I do not ſee any probability of their
ing ever improved. In former times, their
nants ſat at eaſy rents; but for ſome years p
they have been, generally ſpeaking, more te
bly racked by the dexterity of *mercileſs agents* f
England, than even thoſe who held under the
vereſt landlords here. I was aſſured upon
place, by great numbers of credible people,
a prodigious eſtate in the county of Cork b
let upon leaſes for lives, and great fines paid,
rent was ſo high, that the tenants begged l
to ſurrender their *leaſes*, and were content to
their *fines*.

The cultivating and improvement of lan
certainly a ſubject worthy of the higheſt enq
in any country, but eſpecially in ours; where
are ſo ſtrangely limited in every branch of tr
that can be of advantage to us, and utterly
prived of thoſe, which are of the greateſt im
tance; whereof I defy the moſt learned ma
Europe, to produce me an example from an
ther kingdom in the world: for we are de
the *benefit* which God and *nature* intended to
as manifeſtly appears by our *happy ſituation*
commerce, and the *great number of our exce*
ports. So that I think, little is left us, be
the cultivating our own ſoil, encouraging
culture, and making great plantations of t
that we might not be under the neceſſity of ſ

ing for *corn* and *bark* from England: and *timber* from other countries. This would increaſe the number of our inhabitants, and help to conſume our natural products, as well as manufactures at home. And I ſhall never forget what I once ventured to ſay to a great man in England, That few *politicians*, with all their ſchemes, are half ſo uſeful members of a commonwealth, as an *honeſt farmer*; who, by ſkilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, hath increaſed the intrinſic value of a piece of land; and thereby done a *perpetual ſervice* to his country; which it is a great controverſy, whether any of the *former* ever did, ſince the creation of the world; but no controverſy at all, that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of miſchief.

Although, in the foregoing letters, Dr. Swift talks of liberty in a ſtrain highly becoming a warm and zealous defender of the rights of his country, which he maintains with great force of law, reaſon, juſtice, and eloquence; he never once deviates, in the whole courſe of his arguments, from the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtics of the moſt loyal ſubject; whatever might, to the contrary, have been ſuppoſed by a few degenerate ſlaves and ſycophants, in thoſe days; even by that ſort of people, who, as the wiſe Lord Bacon expreſſes it, would ſet a houſe on fire, for the convenience of roaſting their own eggs at the flame. *D. Swift.*

However, indeed, ſuch was the iniquity of the times, that a reward of 300 l. was offered for the author of the fourth letter, chiefly becauſe he had maintained therein the liberty of his country, and declared in very high terms, worthy of a brave and reſolute mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his ſovereign Lord the King, whatever turn, in the viciſſitudes of this world, his majeſty's affairs might poſſibly take in other parts of his dominions.——I ſhall only remark upon this doctrine, the

contrary of which would, I think, have been high treaſon, and againſt his oath of allegiance, that how much ſoever it was condemned in the year 1724, by ſlaves and flatterers; it was, in 1745, ſo univerſally eſtabliſhed in the minds of men, that if there had been occaſion for the people of Ireland to have drawn the ſword in defence of their ſovereign, (which, beſide their loyalty and affection to his majeſty, they have many reaſons to thank God for, that there was not,) K. George II. would undoubtedly have been ſupported in his right to the imperial kingdom of Ireland, let his majeſty's affairs in other parts of his dominions have taken what turn they might, by 300,000 as brave militia as any to be found throughout all Europe; even by the grand-children of thoſe men ſo renowned for their valorous achievements in the days of K. William III.——As the author of the fourth letter could not be diſcovered, Harding the printer was indicted in the uſual forms, and brought to the King's bench, to be tried before that William Whitſhed above mentioned. But the noble jury, friends to their country, and to the public intereſt, would not find the bill. Whereupon the Chief Juſtice, in a rage, diſſolved the jury: on account of which, he deſerved to have been impeached by the houſe of commons; becauſe the diſſolving of a grand jury, *&c.* See the *note* affixed to *Reſolutions of the Commons of England*, vol. III. *Swift.*

The

The DRAPIER DEMOLISHED, and ſet out in his own proper Colours; being a full CONFUTATION of all his ARGUMENTS againſt Mr. WOOD's HALFPENCE.

By WILLIAM WOOD, Eſq;

Written in the year 1724.

Ye good people of Ireland,

I Make not the leaſt doubt, when ye have impartially weighed and conſidered what I ſhall offer upon the preſent occaſion in my own defence, and againſt your Drapier; when ye ſhall make an exact *aſſay* of the arguments on both ſides, between him and me; and, laſtly, when ye ſhall obſerve, as I ſhall point it out, the abuſive and reproachful language with which he has treated me; I ſay, as I ſaid before, I make not the leaſt doubt, but ye will all, to a man, reject him, and embrace me with open arms.

In his firſt letter to the *tradeſmen, ſhopkeepers, farmers, and common people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland* (Vol. III. p. 343.) he begins with the wheedling preamble of *brethren, friends, countrymen, and fellow-ſubjects.* A loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two loves you beſt; he that is getting you no money at all, or I, who am this preſent providing more money for you, than you ſhall know what to do with. O ſad! O ſad! I am really concerned for

the poor Drapier. Soon after he proceeds, and ſays,

" It is a great fault among you, that when a " perſon writes with no other intention than to " do you good, you will not be at the pains to " read his advices." (p. 344.)

Artful enough indeed! This he did to draw you in like ſo many gudgeons, to ſwallow his falſe arguments; and you ſee he has accompliſhed his end at laſt; for had ye not read his letters, ye might have had the benefit of my halfpence theſe five or ſix months paſt.

" Now, you muſt know, that the halfpence " and farthings in England paſs for very little " more than they are worth; and if you ſhould " beat them to pieces, and ſell them to the bra- " zier, you would not loſe much above a penny " in a ſhilling. But Mr. Wood made his half- " pence of ſuch baſe metal, and ſo much ſmaller " than the Engliſh ones, that the brazier would " hardly give you above a penny of good money " for a ſhilling of his." (p. 346.)

Ay, would he give three pence. But one may ſee his malice here with half an eye. He does not tell of the vaſt expence and trouble I am at in coining; the number of clerks I keep in pay; how much I was out of pocket in getting my *patent*; the great expence I ſhall be at in ſhipping them to Ireland; which muſt, in the nature of things, be a vaſt drawback to the profit which I ought to have for my trouble; and therefore, I cannot be ſuppoſed, I can either put as much, or

a

as good copper in the halfpence for Ireland, as thoſe for England. But, good Lord! is not an halfpenny a halfpenny, when once it is called ſo; and if it paſſes for an halfpenny, can you expect any more? Good people, never mind one word he ſays, though he ſells you a dozen hats at five ſhillings a piece, which is three pound, is but five ſhillings in my money; this is perfect *tranſubſtantiation*, to juggle you out of your ſenſes——Three pound is but five ſhillings! Well, if this be his computation, I have done.

"This ſame Mr. Wood was able to attend "conſtantly for his own intereſt;" (and why ſhould not I?) "he is an Engliſhman, and had "great friends," (God be thanked for that;) "and it ſeems, knew very well where to give "money to thoſe that would ſpeak to others, "that could ſpeak to the King, and would tell a "fair ſtory." (I grant that, and what would he infer?) Then he proceeds: "If his Majeſty the "King, ſaw that it would utterly ruin the king-"dom of Ireland, he would ſhew his diſpleaſure "to ſome body or other. But a word to the "wiſe is enough." (We know his meaning by his mumping; he had as well ſpoken what he thought, like an honeſt man.) He proceeds: "Moſt of you muſt have heard, with what anger "our honourable houſe of commons received an "account of this Wood's patent. There were "ſeveral fine ſpeeches made upon it, and plain "proofs, that it was all a wicked cheat, from the "bottom to the top; and ſeveral ſmart votes were

" printed, which that ſame Wood had the aſſu-
" rance to anſwer likewiſe in print, and in ſo
" confident a way, as if he were a better man
" than our whole parliament put together."
(p. 347, 348.)

The parliament was angry—made ſpeeches—found me to be a wicked cheat—and I anſwered as if I had been a better man than the whole parliament.—Well, I find this Drapier will ſay any thing; but I am very glad all the kingdom of Ireland knows to the contrary. Let the Drapier anſwer me only theſe three queſtions: Where did this parliament ſit? And where are the ſpeeches? And where is my anſwer?

" The common ſoldier, when he goes to the
" market or alehouſe, will offer this money,"
(meaning my halfpence;) " and if it be refuſed,
" perhaps he will ſwagger and hector, and
" threaten to beat the butcher or alewife,"
[threaten indeed!] he will do it in earneſt, " or
" take the goods by force, and throw them the
" bad halfpence." [Why ſhould he not? Is it any robbery if he pays them!] " In this and the
" like caſes, the ſhopkeeper, or victualler, or any
" other tradeſman, has no more to do, than to
" demand ten times the price of his goods, if it
" is to be paid in Wood's money; for example,
" *twenty pence for a quart of ale.*" (p. 348.) The devil is in his conſcience, *twenty pence for a quart of ale!* I believe ſuch another propoſal was never ſince Adam. To conſider all other things in proportion, what miſchief would this occaſion?

That

That is, fifteen ſhillings a bottle for claret, at eighteen pence a bottle; for a flaſk of Burgundy five and forty ſhillings; fifty ſhillings a day for a coach; ten ſhillings a dinner for a twelve penny ordinary; thirty ſhillings a day for a chair; ten pence a freſh egg; five pence a halfpenny roll; two pence halfpenny for a pint of ſmall beer. In ſhort, by his advice, *victuallers*, *vintners*, and *trades-folk* would ſoon get all the money of the kingdom into their own hands, ſhould they all follow the *pot of ale example*. And now to conſider the poor, they would be undone by the Drapier's advice; the butcher would have eighteen pence for a ſheep's head; the baker ten ſhillings for a twelve-penny loaf; and thus would it be in proportion as to all their other exigencies. No, no, rather take my advice; *two pence a quart, and my bleſſing*.

In p. 349. he denies that my halfpence are lawful money of England or Ireland. I ſuppoſe, then, he would have them lawful money of Scotland or Wales; for they muſt be lawful ſomewhere. For, does he think, under the ſcarcity of money we find at preſent, that we can afford to let fourſcore and ten thouſand pound ly dead? I need no other argument to ſhew what a friend he is to the *public*.

"They ſay 'Squire Conolly hath ſixteen thou-
"ſand pounds a year; now, if he ſends for his
"rent to town, as it is likely he doth, he muſt
"have two hundred and fifty horſes to bring up
"his half year's rent." (p. 350).

Suppoſe

Suppoſe he muſt, where is the great hardſhip? If a man of ſixteen thouſand a year cannot afford two hundred and fifty horſes to draw his money, he deſerves to want it. I'll engage his under-tenants will lay it down at his door, and it ſhall not coſt him a farthing for the carriage.

"Theſe halfpence, if they once paſs, will ſoon "be counterfeited, becauſe it may be cheaply "done, the ſtuff is ſo baſe. The Dutch likewiſe "will probably do the ſame thing, and ſend them "over to us to pay for our goods." (p. 350, 351.)

The ſtuff is good ſtuff, let him ſay what he will; and the halfpence are good halfpence, and I will ſtand by it: If I made them of ſilver, it would be the ſame thing to this grumbler. As for their being counterfeit, ſure they counterfeit gold and ſilver, and can one help that? for there ever have been rogues of coiners in the world, and will be to the end of it. As for the Dutch, it is time enough to complain when they do coin. I am certain, they have not coined one halfpenny as yet; and if they ſhould, I ſhall take care to ſtock you ſo well, that you ſhall have no occaſion for theirs; ſo that they may carry them home again if they pleaſe.

"It would be very hard, if all Ireland ſhould "be put into one ſcale, and this ſorry fellow "Wood into the other; that Mr. Wood and his "halfpence ſhould weigh down this whole king-"dom, by which England gets above a million "of good money every year clear into their poc-

"kets;

"kets; and that is more than the Engliſh do by "all the world beſides." (p. 352.)

Parturiunt montes—But I beg pardon for talking to him in a language which he does not underſtand.

"A famous *law book*, called *The mirrour of* "*juſtice*, diſcourſing of the charters (or laws) or- "dained by our *ancient kings*, declares the law to "be as follows: It was ordained, that no *king* of "this realm ſhould *change*, *impair*, or *amend*, or "make any *money* than of *gold* or *ſilver*, without "the aſſent of all the counties; that is, as my "lord Coke (1 Inſt. 576.) ſays, without the aſ- "ſent of *parliament*." (p. 354.)

Then he concludes, according to cuſtom, with his fine flattering ſpeeches.

"I will now, my dear friends, to ſave you the "trouble, ſet before you in ſhort what the law "obliges you to do, and what it does not oblige you "to." (This Drapier is an excellent lawyer: I wonder he is not made a Lord Chancellor.)

"Firſt, you are obliged to take all money in "payments, which is coined by the king, and is "of the Engliſh ſtandard or weight, provided it "be of gold or ſilver.

"Secondly, you are not obliged to take any "money which is not of gold or ſilver.——

"Thirdly, much leſs are we obliged to take "thoſe vile halfpence of that ſame Wood.——

"Therefore, my friends, ſtand to it one and "all: refuſe this filthy traſh. It is no treaſon to "rebel againſt Mr. Wood. His Majeſty, in his "patent,

" patent, obliges no body to take theſe halfpenc
(p. 356, 357.)

So then, at this rate, they are coined for body by ſome body; and ſome body is to get thing by no body. I have made a fine hanc my patent and coinage. Ye ſee, gentlemen, force of that argument which the Drapier offe but I find logic is not his talent. Thus hav with great patience, gone through this injuri piece of ſatire upon myſelf, contained in this letter. But knowing that the beſt undertal have always met with enemies and detractor comfort myſelf that I have far defeated this m cious author; that you are all convinced, I now for all your goods; and though a per ſtranger to the country of Ireland, yet a li time will ſhew what induſtry and pains it has me, to make you a flouriſhing and a happy peo It is my inclination to preſerve a good underſta ing between me and you, however wicked pe may endeavour to interpoſe. Before I conclud have one complaint more: I am told, that *pit malicious, inſidious, undermining, ſcribbling Dra* ſet on a parcel of *tatterred, filthy, Iriſh, butter-n potatoe ſcoundrels*, to carry my effigies abou *Wood*, and afterwards hang it at Stephen's G [ſee the following page] for which I hope, w the parliament ſits, to have ample ſatisfact I am glad that none of the gentry of Ireland v concerned in that abominable proceſſion.

I am, your beſt friend,

W. W

A

A full and true account of the ſolemn proceſſion to the GALLOWS, at the execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Eſq; and hard-ware man. *

Written in the year 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report ſpread, that William Wood, hard-ware man, was concealed in his brother-in-law's † houſe here in Dublin, a great number of people, of different conditions, and of both ſexes, crowded about the door, determinately bent to take revenge upon him, as a coiner, and a counterfeiter. Amongſt the reſt, a certain curious perſon, ſtanding in a corner, obſerved, that they all diſcovered their reſentments in the proper terms and expreſſions of their ſeveral trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleaſed to communicate them to me, with leave to publiſh them, for the uſe of thoſe, who, at any time hereafter, may be at a loſs for proper words, wherein to expreſs their good diſpoſitions towards the ſaid William Wood.

The

* In this piece the author makes the ſeveral artificers attend William Wood (repreſented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradeſman expreſſes his reſentment in the terms of his proper calling. Then follows the proceſſion, moſt humorouſly deſcribed. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the ſtrongeſt gravity to withſtand. *Orrery.*

† One Molyneux, an ironmonger.

The people cried out to have him delivered in their hands.

Says the parliament-man. *Expel* him the *hou*
2d parliament-man. I ſecond that *motion.*
Cook. I'll *baſte* him.
2d Cook. I'll give him his *belly-full.*
3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chops.*
4th Cook. I'll *ſowce* him.
Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *ſtan*
Bookſeller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with hin
Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *light* ſhine through hin
Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *curry* his hide.
'Pothecary. I'll *pound* him.
2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *mummy.*
School-maſter. I'll make him an *example.*
Rabbet-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.
Paviour. I'll *thump* him.
Coiner. I'll give him a *rap.*
WHIG. *Down* with him.
TORY. *Up* with him.
Miller. I'll daſh out his *grinders.*
2d Miller. *Dam* him.
Boatman. *Sink* him.
Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel.*
Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue.*
Bagnio-man. I'll make the *houſe* too *hot* for him
Whore. *Pox* rot him.
2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.
3d Whore. *Clap* him up.
Muſtard-maker. I'll have him by the *n*

Cu

Curate. I'll make the *devil come out of him.*

Popiſh prieſt. I'll *ſend him* to the devil.

Dancing-maſter. I'll *teach him better manners.*

2d Dancing-maſter. I'll make him cut a *caper* three ſtory high.

Farmer. I'll *traſh him.*

Taylor. I'll ſit on his *ſkirts.*

2d Taylor. *Hell* is too good for him.

3d Taylor. I'll *pink* his *doublet.*

4th Taylor. I'll make his a—— make *buttons.*

Baſket-maker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears.*

2d Fiddler. I'll bang him to ſome *tune.*

Barber. I'll have him by the *beard.*

2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiſkers.*

3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* ſtand on end.

4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks.*

Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobler. I'll make an *end* of him.

Tobacconiſt. I'll make him *ſmoak.*

2d Tobacconiſt. I'll make him ſet up his *pipes.*

Gold-finder. I'll make him *ſtink.*

Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver.*

2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.

Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.

2d Butcher. Let us *blow him up.*

3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.

Nurſe. I'll *ſwaddle* him.

Anabaptiſt. We'll *dip* the rogue in the *pond.*

Oſtler. I'll *rub* him *down.*

Shoemaker. Set him in the *ſtocks.*

Banker. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.
2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.
Gameſter. I'll make his *bones rattle*.
Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his ſides.
Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants*.
Alewife. I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.
Old woman. I'll *mumble* him.
Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But at laſt the people, having received aſſura ces, that William Wood was neither in the hoı nor kingdom, appointed certain commiſſioners hang him in effigy; whereof the whole ceremo and proceſſion deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſt rity.

Firſt, the way was cleared by a detachment the *blackguards*, with ſhort ſticks in their han and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, Eſq; repreſer ed to the life, by an old piece of carved timb taken from the keel of a ſhip. Upon his fac which looked very diſmal, were fixed, at prop diſtances, ſeveral pieces of his own coin, to d note who he was, and to ſignify his calling a his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, ve artfully compoſed of four old mops; a halter bout his neck, ſerved him for a cravat. H cloaths were indeed not ſo neat and elegant, a uſual with perſons in his condition (which ſor cenſorious people imputed to affectation) for

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was covered with a large rugg of ſeveral colours in patchwork: he was borne upon the ſhoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St. Stephen's green, he often bowed on both ſides, to ſhew his reſpects to the company; his deportment was grave; and his countenance, though ſomewhat penſive, was very compoſed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning cloak, with his hat over his noſe, and a handkerchief in his left hand, to wipe the tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner *himſelf in perſon*; whoſe venerable aſpect drew the eyes of the whole aſſembly upon him; but he was further diſtinguiſhed by a halter, which he bore upon his left ſhoulder, as the badge of his office.

Then followed two perſons hand in hand; the one repreſenting William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain *ſaddler*, his intimate friend, whoſe name I forget. Each had a ſmall kettle in his hand, wherein was a reaſonable quantity of the new halfpence. At proper periods they ſhook their kettles, which made a melancholy ſound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After theſe followed ſeveral officers, whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary, for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The proceſſion was cloſed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently ſent out loud huzzas; which were cenſured by wiſer heads, as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph

over the unfortunate, without duly conſidering the various viciſſitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial hiſtorian, I will not conceal one obſervation, that Mr. Wood himſelf appeared wholly unmoved, without the leaſt alteration in his countenance; only when he came within ſight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the ſame ſpecies of timber with his own perſon, he ſeemed to be ſomewhat penſive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was ſeen to ſhed a tear. He made no reſiſtance, but ſubmitted himſelf, with great reſignation, to the hangman, who was, indeed, thought to uſe him with too much roughneſs, neither kiſſing him, nor aſking him pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deſerves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being aſked, whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

Thoſe of the ſofter ſex, who attended the ceremony, lamented, that ſo comely and well-*timbered* a man ſhould come to ſo untimely an end. He hung but a ſhort time; for, upon feeling his breaſt, they found it cold and ſtiff.

It is ſtrange to think, how this melancholy ſpectacle turned the hearts of the people to compaſſion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city, to gather contributions for his wake; and all ſorts of people ſhewed their liberality, according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an alehouſe of diſtinction, and in a manner ſuitable to the quality of the

the deceaſed. While the attendants were diſcourſing about his funeral, a worthy member of the aſſembly ſtood up, and propoſed, that the body ſhould be carried out the next day, and burned with the ſame pomp and formalities uſed at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and about nine o'clock on the following morning, there appeared a ſecond proceſſion. But, burning not having been any part of the ſentence, authority thought fit to interpoſe, and the corpſe was reſcued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occaſions many ſpeculations. But what is more wonderful, it is poſitively affirmed by many who pretend to have been eye-witneſſes, that there does not appear the leaſt alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance; nor viſible decay in his whole frame, further than what had been made by worms, long before his execution. The ſolution of which difficulty, I ſhall leave among naturaliſts.

Some CONSIDERATIONS on the attempts to paſs Mr. WOOD's BRASS MONEY in Ireland.

By a lover of his country.

IT is a melancholy conſideration, to ſee *the ſeveral reſolutions and addreſſes of both houſes of parliament of* Ireland, *during their late ſeſſion, the late addreſs of his majeſty's juſtices and privy-council of that kingdom, and the petition of the county of the city of* Dublin; whereby the unanimous ſenſe of this nation, and *the great apprehenſions they were under, from importing and uttering copper halfpence and farthings in* Ireland, *by virtue of the patent granted to* William Wood, have been repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms: I ſay, it is a melancholy conſideration, to ſee the force of all theſe repreſentations, eluded by the petitions of a ſingle perſon, ſuch as Mr. Wood.

If juſtice ſtood on the ſide of this ſingle perſon, it ought to give good men pleaſure, to ſee that right ſhould take place; but when, on the contrary, the commonweal of a whole nation, the quieting the minds of a people, diſtracted with apprehenſion of the utmoſt danger to their properties, nay, the preſervation of the purity of their laws, is overborne by private intereſt; what good man but muſt lament ſuch an unhappy ſtate of affairs?

And ſince the matter was of this importance, and ſeemed to carry with it the teſtimony of Heaven,

ven, in the univerſal cry of the people, how could any particular members of a community, which had thus, with one voice, deprecated the evil, with any ſhew of reaſon take upon them the riſk of any miſcarriage in a trial, in a ſubordinate court?

It was to our gracious ſovereign, that all theſe addreſſes and petitions were preſented; it was into his fatherly hands the whole nation committed the care of their cauſe; and it would have been the higheſt piece of arrogance, for any perſon to have preſumed to take upon themſelves a ſhare in that truſt, which was only repoſed in his majeſty's hands. It is no wonder, therefore, *that every one was guarded with caution, againſt giving any advice or opinion in this matter of ſtate;* for which reaſon, they ought *to apprehend great danger to themſelves, from meddling in it.*

Though *this proceeding may ſeem extraordinary,* yet it being on a moſt extraordinary matter, on a matter of ſuch importance, as ſeemed to involve the civil rights and properties of a whole nation in the iſſue of it; on a matter wherein the lords and commons were complainants, and the king immediately concerned, not only as general father of his people, but alſo as particular and only truſtee, in whom his people repoſed entire confidence to redreſs the grievances complained of; was it not intirely reaſonable and fit, that every particular perſon of this kingdom ſhould *reſt* upon what was done by the whole body of the people, duly aſſembled in parliament, and not arrogantly aſſume

aſſume to themſelves, a power of putting the fate of this nation to an iſſue before twelve men?

Since, then, it plainly appears, that this matter is of ſuch a high nature, that no particular perſon ought to have intermeddled in it; it is to be preſumed, that the non-appearance of perſons *to ſupport the united ſenſe of both houſes of parliament of* Ireland, can never be conſtrued as a general diffidence, of being able *to ſupport the charge brought againſt the patent and patentee;* though, indeed, it might proceed from *a general* and a very reaſonable *apprehenſion of a miſcarriage* in this important affair; *wherein both houſes of parliament had declared themſelves ſo fully convinced and ſatisfied, upon evidence and examination taken in the moſt ſolemn manner;* that for my part, I (and ſo I hope every true lover of his country on his part) will look upon their reſolutions to have the ſame dignity (in this caſe) with a maxim in law, *quia maxima eſt eorum dignitas, et certiſſima authoritas, atque quod maxime omnibus probentur.*

And, therefore, I don't preſume to enter the liſts, in order to ſupport the reſolutions of both houſes of parliament; for I look upon it that they are *ſo ſure and uncontrollable, that they ought not to be queſtioned;* but it ſhall be the buſineſs of this paper, to point out ſome of the miſchiefs which will naturally reſult from this coinage of Mr. Wood's, in caſe it ſhould be forced upon us.

We are told, that the power of iſſuing this money of Mr. Wood's, is limited, *and without any compulſion, and currency inforced, to be received by ſuch*

ſuch only, as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the ſame. But then, it is melancholy to behold, that this patent is explained to be obligatory *on all his majeſty's officers and miniſters*, to receive the ſame.

By this means, there is a foundation laid for the moſt unheard of confuſion that ever was introduced into the buſineſs of a nation; for here is eſtabliſhed a ſpecies of money, made of the baſeſt metal, which none in employments under his majeſty muſt refuſe in payments to the crown, or to themſelves, and yet all the reſt of his ſubjects are at liberty to refuſe the ſame, in payments to be made to them, either by his majeſty, or by any other perſon.

Thus the revenue of the crown will be *highly prejudiced*, by the want of intrinſic value in the coin with which it is paid; and the army and all others in employments under his majeſty, are the perſons, who, in the firſt place, muſt bear the burthen of this miſchief. For if they are the only perſons who are *obliged* to receive this coin as current money, it is to be preſumed, that no other perſons will receive the ſame, but with conſiderable allowance for the difference between the *braſs money*, and that made of gold and ſilver.

And, even with a conſiderable allowance, it will be hard to conceive, how this *braſs money* will find any degree of currency in the world, without the aſſiſtance of a ſet of men, who may probably raiſe great eſtates in this unſettled courſe of affairs; but ſuch a ſet of people ought never

to

to be encouraged by a wiſe government; for they will make their fortunes by the loſſes of good ſubjects, and by preying on the revenue of the prince: and yet theſe *hucſterers*, or *money-jobbers*, will be found neceſſary, if this *braſs money* is made current in the Exchequer.

To ſhew, in ſome meaſure, the proportion of this miſchief to his majeſty's revenue, and to thoſe in immediate offices under him; it muſt be conſidered, that the groſs revenue of this kingdom is about 500,000 l. *per annum;* out of which muſt be deducted the charge of collection and drawbacks; which, to be ſure, the ſeveral collectors, and thoſe who are to receive the drawbacks, will take care to receive in *Sterling* money; about 80,000 l. *per annum;* and there will remain, for the diſcharge of the civil and military liſts, penſions, *&c.* 420,000 l. *per annum*, which ſum, it is probable, iſſues out of the treaſury by monthly payments of about 35,000 l. *per month;* for otherwiſe, the current caſh in this nation could not poſſibly pay the revenue, and ſerve to carry on even the little buſineſs of this country; for it hath never been computed, that our current coin amounts to more than 500,000 l. ſo that if 40,000 l. of Mr. Wood's *braſs money* is thrown in upon us (even admitting that no more of this ſpecies ſhould be brought in) it is manifeſt, that that ſum will be near one-twelfth of the whole coin in the nation; and more than one month's pay of the civil and military liſts, and penſions, *&c.* of this kingdom.

If

this ſum ſhould ſtagnate in the treaſury, it is
ain, there will be no greater loſs (immediate-
ought) by this coin to the revenue, than the
ey that there lies dead amounts to: but, if it
ued in monthly payments to the army, and
r his majeſty's officers and miniſters, as in
robability it muſt; then this coin, being com-
d of a baſe metal, current only in the ex-
uer, where it is received at an imaginary va-
of at leaſt 60 *per cent.* more than the real va-
of the material, it will be ſuddenly paid back
n to the collectors, and, by that means, paſs
ugh the treaſury, at leaſt three times in every
; for there, we are told, it is to meet with *no*
r *moleſtation.*

nd, ſeeing the currency of this money is not
rced on any other of his majeſty's ſubjects, it
ſy to conceive, that the difference of value
ween this coin, and the gold and ſilver which
be current in the nation, will be ſettled by
money-jobbers, at about 20 *per cent.* diſcount.
y which means alone, there will be loſt in the
inſic value of the revenue, the ſum of 24,000 l.
nnum, without computing for the loſſes which
t neceſſarily be brought to the revenue, by the
eral diffidence, which the introducing this coin
create among the people: all which will be
ifeſtly *deſtructive of the trade and commerce of*
kingdom, and of dangerous conſequence to the pro-
ies of the ſubject.

nd yet the evil has been here computed, on a
oſition that only 40,000 l. of this money will
be

be uttered in the kingdom; but I take it to be impoſſible to limit the quantity that ſhall be brought in, eſpecially if the importers of it have ſo ſure a market for the ſame as the Exchequer.

For, though his Majeſty ſhould be able to prevent Mr. Wood from coining any more than 40,000 l. and ſhould never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant *his ſpecial licence or authority*, to enlarge that ſum, yet it will be impoſſible to prevent the importation of this ſort of coin from other nations. And there have been ſuch variety of *dyes* made uſe of by Mr. Wood in ſtamping his money, that it makes the diſcovery of counterfeits more difficult; and the profit is ſo great, that it will be a ſufficient temptation to our induſtrious neighbours of Holland to ſend large quantities of this coin to ſo ſure a market as the Exchequer.

And perhaps it may be a queſtion among lawyers, whether a man can be puniſhed at the king's ſuit, for counterfeiting this coin, becauſe it is not the current coin of the kingdom; for though theſe halfpence are to be received as money in the Exchequer, yet, in trade, they are no better than counters; and therefore, the patent may perhaps be conſtrued to be no more than a grant of a *monopoly* to make thoſe counters.

But it is worth obſerving, that if this patent is ſo worded, as that his Majeſty's officers, employed in the receipt of his revenue, cannot refuſe receiving this coin, it is directly contrary to two acts of parliament now in force in this kingdom, and

ch are to be found in the books of rates
ed among the officers of the revenue.
by the act of tonnage and poundage,
15 Car. II. cap. 9. the duties thereby
to his Majeſty and his ſucceſſors, are to
in lawful money of England. And by
f exciſe, or new impoſt, 14 and 15 Car. II.
it is expreſly declared and enacted, *that*
al rates and duties of exciſe, and all fines,
forfeitures, or other ſum or ſums of money
poſed, ſet, or forfeited, in and by this act,
t and intended to be current and lawful mo-
nies of England, *and that all and every of*
be therefore demanded, received, paid, and
ccordingly.
eſe acts it is manifeſt, that the collectors
ged to receive the ſeveral duties ariſing
: cuſtom and exciſe, in no other money
as is current and lawful money of Eng-
nd Mr. Wood's halfpence and farthings
g current or lawful money in England, or
kingdom, if this patent is obligatory on
receive payments in this coin, it is con-
acts of parliament, and therefore void in

f the ſeveral collectors of his Majeſty's re-
this kingdom ſhould receive the ſaid du-
any part of them, in Mr. Wood's *braſs*
would be aſſuming to themſelves a power
ſe with thoſe acts of parliament, contrary
nſe of both houſes of parliament, and
to their reſpective oaths; ſo that it ſeems

highly reaſonable, becauſe conſonant to law, that *the officers of the revenue ſhould give orders to the inferior officers, not to receive this coin.*

Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the king hath a power to direct what coin he pleaſes to be received by the officers of his revenue, and that this patent is in conſequence of ſuch a prerogative. But it is to be hoped, that this doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a coin, to which the whole nation, as well in parliament aſſembled as in their private capacities, have ſhewed a general diſlike.

Moreover, as this caſe ſtands circumſtanced, it is a great queſtion whether his Majeſty hath ſuch a diſpenſing power: for though it ſhould be allowed, that his Majeſty might direct the receipt of his own revenue in what coin he pleaſes; yet it is moſt certain, that his Majeſty does not intend to enforce the currency of Wood's money among any of his ſubjects, much leſs doth his Majeſty intend to oblige thoſe, who are entitled by act of parliament to be paid in current money of England, to receive this money of Mr. Wood's.

And it is plain, that, by the act of exciſe, there are ſeveral *fines*, *penalties*, and *forfeitures*, which, by virtue of that act, are to be received in current money of England; and to half thoſe *fines*, *forfeitures* and *penalties*, the informers are entitled, by virtue of the ſaid act: ſo that, if the officers ſhould be obliged to receive them in *braſs money*, the informers muſt neceſſarily loſe the benefit of the ſaid act; and I may venture to ſay, that act cannot

repealed but by another act, to be made
ırds, and commons, and not by a patent.
e things having been, among many other
ıty matters, laid before both houſes of
: of Ireland, it is not to be wondered,
epreſent, that the patent had been obtained
leſtine and unprecedented manner, and
: miſrepreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland.
can be more clandeſtine, than to obtain
with powers not only *highly prejudicial*
eſty's revenue, deſtructive of the trade and
of the kingdom, and of dangerous conſe-
be properties of the ſubject, but alſo, con-
veral acts of parliament? and that it
ıprecedented attempt, at leaſt in this
l be readily allowed; therefore, all the
tions made of the ſtate of Ireland, in or-
ain this patent, may, with great truth,
notorious miſrepreſentations.

has been ſaid, that his Majeſty cannot
gainſt the patentee, but according to the
les and maxims of law and juſtice: and
d that any one of this kingdom ſhould
Majeſty to ſubvert or diſpenſe with any
ws. No part of the addreſſes from the
parliament of Ireland, has the leaſt ten-
ı way.

ough the houſe of commons, in their ſe-
reſs to his Majeſty, *moſt humbly beſeech*
y, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give
to the ſeveral officers entruſted with the re-
is Majeſty's revenue, that they do not, on

any pretence whatſoever, utter ſuch halfpence and farthings: yet, if his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to have given orders, according to this humble addreſs of his people of Ireland, it is humbly conceived, that this would have been only an affirmance of the law of the land, as hath been ſaid, and not any way contrary to law.

For, though his Majeſty, by *his patent under the great ſeal of* Great-Britain, *wills, requires, and commands his lieutenant, deputy, or other chief governor or governors of his kingdom of* Ireland, *and all other officers and miniſters of his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, in* England, Ireland, *or elſewhere, to be aiding and aſſiſting to the ſaid* William Wood, *his executors*, &c. *in the execution of all or any the powers, authorities, directions, matters or things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their benefit or advantage, by virtue and in purſuance of the ſaid indentures;* yet it is *in all things as becometh*, &c. And this is to be expounded by the known laws of the land, and by other parts of the ſaid patent, whereby it is manifeſt, that his Majeſty never intended *to enforce the currency of this money, to be received by any perſon that would not voluntarily and wilfully accept the ſame.*

Therefore, ſince the people have ſhewed a general diſlike of this coin, it is to be hoped, that ſome method will be found out, to eaſe their minds from the diſtraction they are under on this occaſion.

A Short

A

Short VIEW of the STATE of IRELAND.

Written in the year 1727.

I AM aſſured, that it hath for ſome time been practiſed as a method of making mens court, when they are aſked about the rate of lands, the abilities of tenants, the ſtate of trade and manufactures in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid, to anſwer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flouriſhing condition, the rent and purchaſe of land every day encreaſing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more ſincere in his repreſentations; beſides being looked on as not well affected, he is ſure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of ſecret, why theſe queſtions are ſo *cordially* aſked, or ſo *obligingly* anſwered.

But ſince, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been uſing all endeavours to ſubdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any perſonal intereſt, not being the owner of one ſpot of ground in the whole *iſland*; I ſhall only enumerate, by rules generally known and never contradicted, what are the true cauſes of any country's flouriſhing and growing rich; and then examine what effects ariſe from thoſe cauſes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The firſt cauſe of a kingdom's thriving, is, the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, to produce the neceſſaries and

and conveniences of life; not only ſufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The ſecond is, the induſtry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the laſt degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of ſafe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in thoſe of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives ſhould, as much as poſſible, export and import their goods in veſſels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries, which will permit them, except thoſe who are in war with their own prince or ſtate.

The ſixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own conſent; for otherwiſe, they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for juſtice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are ſo many grievous impoveriſhments.

The ſeventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby encreaſing the number of their people; without which, any country, however bleſſed by nature, muſt continue poor.

The eighth is, the reſidence of the prince, or chief adminiſtrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourſe of foreigners for education,

curiosity, or pleasure; or as to a ge-
of trade.

th is, by disposing all offices of honour,
ust, only to the natives; or at least with
exceptions, where strangers have long
the country, and are supposed to under-
regard the interest of it as their own.

:venth is, when the rents of lands, and
employments, are spent in the coun-
produced them, and not in another;
r of which will certainly happen, where
f our native country prevails.

:lfth is, by the public revenues being all
employed at home, except on the occa-
foreign war.

irteenth is, where the people are not
nless they find it for their own interest
iency, to receive any monies, except of
coinage by a public mint, after the
f all civilized nations.

urteenth is, a disposition of the people
:ry to wear their own manufactures, and
; few incitements to luxury either in
urniture, food, or drink, as they pos-
live conveniently without.

are many other causes of a nation's thriv-
:h I at present cannot recollect; but
dvantage from at least some of these,
ing my thoughts a long time, I am not
scover from whence our wealth proceeds,
:fore would gladly be better informed.
ean time, I will here examine, what

share

ſhare falls to Ireland of theſe cauſes, or of the effects and conſequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of ſmall importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a ſolitary houſe, far from help, is not wiſe in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; becauſe thoſe, who come for gold, will go off with pewter and braſs, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world, thoſe who poſſeſs moſt wealth, make the leaſt parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing elſe to bear them out in ſhewing their faces on the *exchange*.

As to the firſt cauſe of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the ſoil, as well as temperature of climate, we have no reaſon to complain; for although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bogg and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near an equality in point of goodneſs, and might with the ſame encouragement be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in ſome of which, however, we are only defective in point of ſkill and induſtry.

In the ſecond, which is the induſtry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of diſcouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature hath beſtowed ſo liberally on this kingdom, is

is of no more uſe to us than a beautiful proſpect to a man ſhut up in a dungeon.

As to ſhipping of its own, Ireland is ſo utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within theſe fifty or ſixty years, it can hardly be ſaid, that the nation have received the benefit of one valuable houſe to dwell in, or one ſhip to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern ſtory, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleaſed, except to countries at war with their own prince or ſtate: yet this privilege, by the ſuperiority of mere power, is refuſed us in the moſt momentous parts of commerce; beſides an act of navigation, to which we never conſented, pinned down upon us, and rigorouſly executed; and a thouſand other unexampled circumſtances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the reſt.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey ſome laws we never conſented to; which is a condition I muſt not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of lord Chief-juſtice Whitſhed's ghoſt, with his *libertas et natale ſolum*, * written for a motto on his coach, as it ſtood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himſelf to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have phyſic ſent them by doctors at a diſtance, ſtrangers to their conſtitution

* Liberty and my native country.

conſtitution and the nature of their diſeaſe: and thus we are forced to pay five hundred *per cent.* to decide our properties: in all which we have likewiſe the honour to be diſtinguiſhed from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land; thoſe few who attempt that, or planting, through covetouſneſs, or want of ſkill, generally leave things worſe than they were; neither ſucceeding in trees nor hedges; and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are ſo far from having a king to reſide among us, that even the viceroy is generally abſent four-fifths of his time in the government.

No ſtrangers from other countries make this a part of their travels; where they can expect to ſee nothing but ſcenes of miſery and deſolation.

Thoſe who have the misfortune to be born here, have the leaſt title to any conſiderable employment; to which they are ſeldom preferred, but upon a political conſideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is ſpent in England; which, with the profit of employments, penſions, appeals, journies of pleaſure or health, education at the *inns* of court and both univerſities, remittances at pleaſure, the pay of all ſuperior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, ſilver, or even copper. In the Iſle of Man, they coin

coin their own *ſilver;* every petty prince, vaſſal to the *emperor*, can coin what money he pleaſeth. And in this, as in moſt of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other ſtates or monarchies, that were ever known in the world.

As to the laſt, or fourteenth article, we take ſpecial care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole courſe of our lives. Both ſexes, but eſpecially the women, deſpiſe and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even thoſe which are better made than in other countries; particularly a ſort of ſilk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may paſs for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which, I am told, we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could eaſily enlarge) I would be glad to know, by what ſecret method it is, that we grow a rich and flouriſhing people, without *liberty*, *trade*, *manufactures*, *inhabitants*, *money*, or the *privilege of coining;* without *induſtry*, *labour*, or *improvement of land;* and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole *kingdom* annually exported, for which we receive not a ſingle farthing: and, to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade caſual, corrupted, and at mercy; and ſome butter from Corke. If we do flouriſh, it muſt be againſt every law of nature and reaſon: like the thorn at Glaſtenbury, that bloſſoms in the midſt of winter.

Let

Let the worthy *commiſſioners*, who come from England, ride round the kingdom, and obſerve the face of nature, or the face of the natives; the improvement of the land; the thriving numerous plantations; the noble woods; the abundance and vicinity of country-ſeats; the commodious farmers houſes and barns; the towns and villages, where every body is buſy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures; the ſhops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with cuſtomers; the comfortable diet and dreſs, and dwellings of the people; the vaſt numbers of ſhips in our harbours and docks, and ſhip-wrights in our ſea-port towns; the roads crouded with carriers, laden with rich manufactures; the perpetual concourſe to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would thoſe gentlemen return from ſo delightful a progreſs? what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England?

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer; for, it is manifeſt, that, whatever ſtranger took ſuch a journey, would be apt to think himſelf travelling in Lapland or *Iceland*, rather than in a country ſo favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulneſs of ſoil, and temperature of climate. The miſerable dreſs, and diet, and dwelling of the people; the general deſolation in moſt parts of the kingdom; the old ſeats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their ſtead: the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and naſtineſs upon butter-

r-milk and potatoes, without a ſhoe or ſtock-
o their feet, or a houſe ſo convenient as an
ſh hog-ſty to receive them. Theſe, indeed,
be comfortable ſights to an Engliſh ſpecta-
who comes for a ſhort time, only *to learn*
nguage, and returns back to his own coun-
whither he finds all our wealth tranſmitted.

Noſtra miſeria magna eſt.

ere is not one argument uſed to prove the
s of Ireland, which is not a logical demon-
on of its poverty. The riſe of our rents is
zed out of the very blood, and vitals, and
ıs, and dwellings of the tenants, who live
: than Engliſh beggars. The lowneſs of in-
, in all other countries a ſign of wealth, is
a proof of miſery; there being no trade to
oy any borrower. Hence alone comes the
ieſs of land, ſince the ſayers have no other
:o lay out their money: hence the dearneſs
ceſſaries for life; becauſe the tenants can-
fford to pay ſuch extravagant rates for land,
:h they muſt take, or go a-begging) without
g the price of cattle, and of corn, although
ſelves ſhould live upon chaff. Hence our
aſe of buildings in this city; becauſe work-
have nothing to do but to employ one an-
, and one half of them are infallibly un-

Hence the daily increaſe of *bankers*, who
be a neceſſary evil in a trading country,
o ruinous in ours; who, for their private
ıtage, have ſent away all our ſilver, and one-

third of our gold; ſo that, within three years paſt, the running caſh of the nation, which was about five hundred thouſand pounds, is now leſs than two; and muſt daily diminiſh, unleſs we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom, the Iſle of Man, and the meaneſt principality in the German empire, as I before obſerved.

I have ſometimes thought, that this paradox, of the kingdom growing rich, is chiefly owing to thoſe worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except ſome cuſtom-houſe officers, birds of paſſage, oppreſſive thrifty 'ſquires, and a few others, who ſhall be nameleſs, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wiſhed, that a law were enacted, to hang up half a dozen *bankers* every year, and thereby interpoſe at leaſt ſome ſhort delay to the further ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle, ye are idle, anſwered Pharaoh to the Iſraelites, when they complained to *his majeſty*, that they were forced to make bricks without ſtraw.

England enjoys every one of thoſe advantages for enriching a nation, which I have above enumerated; and, into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year, without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our ſide: but, how long we ſhall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the leaſt concern. One thing I know, that *when the hen is ſtarved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.*

I think it a little unhoſpitable, and others may call it a ſubtile piece of malice, that, becauſe there may be a dozen families in this town able

to

to entertain their Engliſh friends in a generous manner at their tables, their gueſts, upon their return to England, ſhall report, that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet, I confeſs, I have known an hoſpital, where all the houſhold officers grew rich; while the poor, for whoſe ſake it was built, were almoſt ſtarving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude: If Ireland be a rich and flouriſhing kingdom, its wealth and proſperity muſt be owing to certain cauſes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind; and the effects are equally inviſible. We need not wonder at ſtrangers, when they deliver ſuch paradoxes; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the ſame verdict, muſt be either ignorant to ſtupidity, or a man-pleaſer, at the expence of all honour, conſcience, and truth*.

* The preſent ſtate of Ireland ‖ is, in general, as flouriſhing as poſſible. Agriculture is cultivated: arts and ſciences are encouraged: and, in the ſpace of eighteen years, which is almoſt the full time that I have known it, no kingdom can be more improved. Ireland, in relation of England, may be compared to a younger ſiſter lately come of age, after having ſuffered all the miſeries of an injured minor; ſuch as law-ſuits, encroachments upon her property, violation of her rights, deſtruction of her tenants, and every evil that can be named. At length, time, and her own noble ſpirit of induſtry, have entirely relieved her, and, ſome little heart-burnings excepted, ſhe enjoys the quiet poſſeſſion of a very ample fortune, ſubject, by way of acknowledgment, to certain quit-rents, payable to the elder branch of her houſe. *Take her all in all*, ſhe cannot have a greater fortune than ſhe deſerves. *Orrery.*

‖ 1752.

AN ANSWER TO A PAPER,

CALLED,

A MEMORIAL of the poor Inhabitants, Tradeſmen, and Labourers of the Kingdom of IRELAND.

Written in the year 1728.

I Received a *paper* from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer; and ſent, I ſuppoſe, to me, among others, without any particular diſtinction. It contains a complaint of the dearneſs of corn; and ſome ſchemes for making it cheaper, which I cannot approve of.

But, pray permit me, before I go further, to give you a ſhort hiſtory of the ſteps, by which we arrived at this hopeful ſituation.

It was, indeed, the ſhameful practice of too many Iriſh farmers, to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, lazineſs, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itſelf; and, when their leaſes are near expiring, being aſſured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made ſuch havock, that many landlords were conſiderable ſufferers by it*. This

* This practice probably produced the penal clauſes to prohibit ploughing, mentioned in the *propoſal for the univerſal uſe of Iriſh manufactures. Hawkeſ.*

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who, upon expiration of the farmers leaſes, were ready to engroſs great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land wore out of heart, were too eaſily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them ſecurity for payment. Thus, a waſt tract of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their ſeveral cabins, became all deſolate, and eaſily managed by one or two herdſmen and their boys; whereby the maſter-grazier, with little trouble, ſeized to himſelf the livelihood of an hundred people.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the farmers were juſtly puniſhed for their *knavery*, *brutality*, and *folly*. But neither are the *'ſquires* and *landlords* to be excuſed; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vaſt number of *beggars*, and the ruin of thoſe few ſorry improvements we had.

That *farmers* ſhould be limited in ploughing, is very reaſonable, and practiſed in England; and might have eaſily been done here by penal clauſes in their leaſes: but to deprive them in a manner altogether from tilling their lands, was a moſt ſtupid want of thinking.

Had the *farmers* been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four laſt years of

their leaſes, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have ſaved a *million of money*; and been more populous by above *two hundred thouſand ſouls*.

For a people, denied the benefit of *trade*, to manage their lands in ſuch a manner as to produce nothing, but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only ſuch things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an abſurdity that a *wild* Indian would be aſhamed of; eſpecially when we add, that we are content to purchaſe this hopeful commerce by ſending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The *grazier's* employment is to feed great flocks of *ſheep*, or *black cattle*, or both. With regard to *ſheep*, as folly is uſually accompanied with perverſeneſs, ſo it is here. There is ſomething ſo monſtrous to deal in a commodity, (further than for our own uſe) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to *one certain country*, and only to ſome *few* ports in that country; there is, I ſay, ſomething ſo ſottiſh, that it wants a name in our language to expreſs it by: and the good of it is, that the more *ſheep* we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the *wool*, or eat the *fleſh*. Ajax was mad, when he miſtook a flock of *ſheep* for his enemies: but we ſhall never be ſober, until we have the ſame way of thinking.

The other part of the *grazier's* buſineſs is what we call *black cattle*, producing *hides*, *tallow*, and *beef* for exportation: all which are good and uſeful

ful commodities, if rightly managed. But it ſeems, the greateſt part of the *hides* are ſent out raw, for want of *bark* to *tan* them; and that want will daily grow ſtronger: for, I doubt, the new project of *tanning* without it, is at an end. Our *beef*, I am afraid, ſtill continues ſcandalous in foreign markets, for *the old reaſons*. But our *tallow*, for any thing I know, may be good. However, to beſtow the whole kingdom on *beef* and *mutton*, and thereby drive out half the people, who ſhould eat their ſhare, and force the reſt to ſend ſometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a moſt peculiar and diſtinguiſhed piece of public œconomy, of which I have no comprehenſion.

I know very well that our anceſtors the Scythians, and their poſterity our kinſmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood and milk and raw fleſh of their cattle, without one grain of *corn*: but I confeſs myſelf ſo degenerate, that I am not eaſy without *bread* to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to ſee, in this prodigious plenty of *cattle*, and dearth of *human creatures*, and want of *bread*, as well as *money* to buy it, that all kind of *fleſh meat* ſhould be monſtrouſly *dear*, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not ſome regulation in the price of *fleſh*, as well as *bread*: but I imagine myſelf to have gueſſed out the reaſon: in ſhort, I am apt to think, that the whole kingdom is overſtocked with *cattle*, both *black* and *white*: and as it

it is obſerved, that the poor *Iriſh* have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk; ſo I conceive it much more difficult at preſent to find a fat *bullock* or *weather*, than it would be, if half of them were fairly knocked on the head: for I am aſſured, that the diſtrict in the ſeveral markets, called *carrion-row*, is as reaſonable as the poor can deſire; only the circumſtance of *money to purchaſe it*, and of *trade*, or *labour*, to *purchaſe* that *money*, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, Sir, to return more particularly to you, and your memorial.

A hundred thouſand barrels of *wheat*, you ſay, ſhould be imported hither; and ten thouſand pounds *præmium* to the importers. Have you looked into the purſe of the nation? I am no commiſſioner of the *treaſury*; but am well aſſured, that the whole running *caſh* would not ſupply you with a ſum to purchaſe ſo much *corn*, which, only at twenty ſhillings a barrel, will be a hundred thouſand pounds; and ten thouſand more for the *præmium*. But you will traffic for your *corn* with other goods: and where are thoſe goods? If you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of *abſentees*, and other occaſions, in London, beſides a huge balance of trade this year againſt us. Will foreigners take our bankers paper? I ſuppoſe, they will value it at little more than ſo much a quire. Where are theſe

rich

rich farmers and *ingroſſers of corn*, in ſo bad a year, and ſo little ſowing?

You are in pain for two ſhillings *præmium*, and forget the twenty ſhillings for the price: find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your ſcheme for a tax for raiſing ſuch a ſum, is all viſionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the *miſerable ſtate* of this nation. *Tea*, *coffee*, *ſugar*, *ſpices*, *wine*, and *foreign cloths*, are the particulars you mention, upon which this tax ſhould be raiſed. I will allow the two firſt, becauſe they are unwholeſome; and the laſt, becauſe I ſhould be glad if they were all burned; but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our miſery; or give your tenants leave to plough for *barley*. But I will tell you a *ſecret*, which I learned many years ago from the commiſſioners of the *cuſtoms* in London: they ſaid, when any *commodity* appeared to be taxed above a *moderate rate*, the conſequence was, to leſſen that branch of the revenue by one half; and one of thoſe gentlemen pleaſantly told me, that the miſtake of parliaments on ſuch occaſions, was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four; whereas, in the buſineſs of laying *heavy impoſitions*, two and two never made more than one; which happens by leſſening the import, and the ſtrong temptation of running ſuch goods as paid high duties, at leaſt in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their huſbands

can

can deſerve, and the men are fond enough of wine; yet the number of both, who can afford ſuch expences, is ſo ſmall, that the major part muſt refuſe gratifying themſelves, and the duties will rather be leſſened than increaſed. But, allowing no force in this argument; yet ſo preternatural a ſum, as one hundred and ten thouſand pounds, raiſed all on a ſudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger) is juſt in proportion with raiſing a million and a half in England; which, as things now ſtand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under ſome difficulties.

You are concerned how ſtrange and ſurpriſing it would be in foreign parts to hear, that the poor were ſtarving in a RICH country, &c. Are you in earneſt? is Ireland the *rich country* you mean? or are you inſulting our *poverty*? were you ever out of Ireland? or were you ever in it till of late? You may probably have a good employment, and are ſaving all you can to purchaſe a good eſtate in England. But by talking ſo familiarly of one hundred and ten thouſand pounds by a *tax* upon a few *commodities*, it is plain, you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our preſent condition; or elſe you would know and allow, that ſuch a ſum is not to be raiſed here, without a *general excife*; ſince, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in *taxes* more than England ever did in the height of the war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? Moſt certainly, not the poor, who will not be *able* to purchaſe the twentieth part of it.

Sir,

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very rude piece, liable to more objections than there re lines; but, I think your meaning is good, and) far you are pardonable.

If you will propoſe a general contribution for ıpporting the poor in *potatoes* and *butter-milk*, till he new corn comes in, perhaps you may ſucceed ætter; becauſe the thing at leaſt is poſſible: and, think, if our brethren in England would contri- ıute upon this emergency, out of the million hey gain from us every year, they would do a ›iece of *juſtice* as well as *charity*. In the mean ime, go and preach to your own tenants to fall to the plough as faſt as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring 'ſquires to do the ſame with theirs; or elſe die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and ſtarving the reſt. For as to your ſcheme of raiſing *one hundred and ten thouſand pounds*, it is as vain as that of Rabelais; which was to ſqueeze out wind from the poſteriors of a dead aſs.

But, why all this concern for the poor? We want them not, as the country is now managed; they may follow thouſands of their leaders, and ſeek their bread abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the buſineſs of fifty, and you may ſend away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of huſbandry, never known or practiſed by the wiſeſt nations, who erroneouſly thought people to be the riches of a country.

If ſo wretched a ſtate of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleaſure, after

all

all the warning I have in vain given the pub
at my own peril for several years past, to see th
consequences and events answering in every pa
ticular. I pretend to no sagacity: what I wri
was little more than what I had discoursed to s
veral persons, who were generally of my opinio
and it was obvious to every common understan
ing, that such effects must needs follow fro
such causes. A fair issue of things begun up
party rage, while some sacrificed the public to fur
and others to ambition: while a spirit of factio
and oppression reigned in every part of the cou
try; where gentlemen, instead of consulting th
ease of their tenants, or cultivating their lanc
were worrying one another upon points of *wh*
and *tory*, of *high-church* and *low-church*; whi
no more concerned them, than the long and s
mous controversy of *strops for razors* *: whi
agriculture was wholly discouraged, and conse
quently half the farmers and labourers, an
poorer tradesmen, forced to beggary or banis
ment: *Wisdom crieth in the streets; because I ha
called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and
man regarded. But ye have set at nought all m
counsels, and would none of my reproof. I also w
laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fe
cometh.*

I have now done with your memorial, an
freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear
write as a stranger, and as of a country, which
le

* A piece of leather pasted on wood to be used with a certa
powder, for the property and excellence of which several comp
titors eagerly contended. *Hawkes.*

left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the beſt of thoſe advantages which God hath given it in ſoil, climate, and ſituation.

But having lately ſent out a paper, entitled, *a ſhort view of the ſtate of* Ireland; and hearing of an objection, that ſome people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Juſtice Whitſhed with an appearance of ſeverity: ſince I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myſelf in that particular, I chooſe to do it here: laying it therefore down for a *poſtulatum*, which I ſuppoſe will be univerſally granted, that no *little creature* of ſo mean a birth and genius had ever the *honour* to be a *greater enemy* to his country, and to all kinds of virtue than HE, I anſwer thus; Whether there be two different goddeſſes called Fame, as ſome authors contend, or only one goddeſs ſounding two different trumpets, it is certain, that people diſtinguiſhed for their *villany*, have as good a title to a blaſt from the *proper trumpet*, as thoſe who are moſt renowned for their *virtues* have from the other; and have equal reaſon to complain if it be refuſed them. And accordingly the names of the moſt *celebrated profligates* have been faithfully tranſmitted down to poſterity. And although the perſon here underſtood, acted his part in an obſcure corner of the world, yet his talents might have ſhone with luſtre enough in the nobleſt ſcene.

As to my naming a perſon dead, the plain honeſt reaſon is the beſt. He was armed with power

and will to do miſchief, even where he not provoked, as appeared by his profec two *printers*, one to death, and both to ruin, had neither offended God, nor the king, him, nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this? ill man be alive, and in power, we dare n tack him; and if he be weary of the world, his own villanies, he has nothing to do bu and then his reputation is ſafe. For theſe e lent caſuiſts know juſt *Latin* enough to heard a moſt fooliſh precept, that *de mortu niſi bonum*; ſo that if Socrates, and Anyt accuſer *, had happened to die together, the rity of ſurvivors muſt either have obliged to hold their peace, or to fix the ſame char on both. The only crime of charging the is, when the leaſt doubt remains whether th calation be true; but when men are open bandoned, and loſt to all ſhame, they hav reaſon to think it hard, if their memory b proached. Whoever reports, or otherwiſe liſheth any thing, which it is poſſible ma falſe, that man is a ſlanderer; *hic niger eſt, tu, Romane, caveto.* Even the leaſt miſrepr tation, or aggravation of facts, deſerves the cenſure in ſome degree: but in this caſe quite deceived, if my error hath not been o ſide of extenuation.

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* Anytus, one of the wretches who accuſed Socrates temning the gods, and endeavouring to ſubvert the reli his country. *Hawkeſ.*

I have now preſent before me the idea of ſome perſons, (I know not in what part of the world) who ſpend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they ſleep) in the moſt deteſtable actions and deſigns; who delight in *miſchief*, *ſcandal*, and *obloquy*, with the *hatred* and *contempt* of all mankind againſt them; but chiefly of thoſe among their own party, and their own family; ſuch, whoſe *odious qualities* rival each other for perfection; *avarice*, *brutality*, *faction*, *pride*, *malice*, *treachery*, *noiſe*, *impudence*, *dulneſs*, *ignorance*, *vanity*, and *revenge*, contending every moment for ſuperiority in their breaſts. Such creatures are not to be reformed; neither is it prudent, or ſafe, to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will *rot*, there may be ſome benefits for their ſurvivors, to ſmell it while it is *rotting*.

I am, SIR,

your humble ſervant,

Dublin, March 25. 1728. A. B.

A VINDICATION of his Excellency J CARTERET, from the charge of none but *Tories, High-churchmen, bites* *.

Written in the year 1730.

IN order to treat this important ſul the greateſt fairneſs and impartialit it may be convenient to give ſome acco *excellency;* in whoſe life and character certain particulars, which might give a ſuſpicion of ſome truth in the accuſati under.

He is deſcended from two noble, an moſt loyal families, the Carterets and villes: too much diſtinguiſhed, I co what they acted, and what they ſuffer ſending the former conſtitution in ch ſtate under king Charles the martyr; I very prince, on account of whoſe ma

* The view of this piece ſeems to be to recomm tion, and laugh political bigotry out of countenance.

In this piece the failings of the noble Lord, ari prejudices of great talents and a learned educatio diſplayed with infinite wit and humour. How there is couched here abundance of ſatire. *Piſtoride* angry, buſtling mortal, he treats with all imaginab but in his ſatire againſt *Traulus* he ſpares not to c every ſtroke; the former part of which is bitterly i the latter as bitterly ironical. His account of *Ag* caught by the *parſon of the pariſh* riding on a hobl his children, and ſome other touches of the like ſo diverting. *D. Swift.*

form of prayer, with faſting, was enjoined by act of parliament to be uſed on the 30*th day of* January *every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that ſacred and innocent blood might not be viſited on us or our poſterity;* as we may read at large in our *common-prayer-books*; which day hath been ſolemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency the preſent Lord was educated in the univerſity of Oxford; from whence, with a ſingularity ſcarce to be juſtified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and *philoſophy*, than properly became a perſon of his rank, indeed much more of each than moſt of thoſe, who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unneceſſary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he ſplit on upon his firſt appearance in the world, and having juſt got clear of his guardians. For as ſoon as he came to town, ſome biſhops, and clergymen, and other perſons moſt eminent for learning and parts, got him among them; from whom, although he were fortunately dragged by a lady and the court, yet he could never wipe off the ſtain, nor waſh out the tincture of his univerſity acquirements and diſpoſitions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleaſed God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehenſion, eloquence, and wit; and, to finiſh the work, all theſe were fortified, even in his youth, with the advantages received by ſuch employments, as

are beſt fitted both to exerciſe and poliſh the gifts of nature and education, having been ambaſſador in ſeveral courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree; and made principal ſecretary of ſtate at a period, when, according to cuſtom, he ought to have been buſied in loſing his money at a chocolate-houſe; or in other amuſements equally laudable and epidemic among perſons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak ſide in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dreſſing-room, if it were carefully ſearched; and there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that ſome of the ſaid books have been privately conveyed to him by *tory* hands. I am likewiſe aſſured, that he hath been taken in the very fact of reading the ſaid books, even in the midſt of a ſeſſion, to the great neglect of public affairs.

I own, there may be ſome grounds for this charge; becauſe I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two ſcholars at his elbows, he grows a moſt unſupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great diſadvantage. For with all the accompliſhments above-mentioned, adding that of a moſt comely and graceful perſon, and during the prime of youth, ſpirits, and vigour, he hath in a moſt unexemplary manner led a regular domeſtic life; diſcovers a great eſteem, and friend-

ſhip,

), and love for his lady, as well as true affec-
n for his children: and when he is diſpoſed to
nit an entertaining evening companion, he
h not always enough reflect, whether the per-
n may poſſibly in former days have lain under
e imputation of a *tory*; nor at ſuch times do
e natural or *affected* fears of *popery* and the *pre-
ider* make any part of the converſation: I pre-
me, becauſe neither Homer, Plato, Ariſtotle,
Cicero, have made any mention of them.

Theſe I freely acknowledge to be his excellen-
y's failings: yet, I think it is agreed by philoſo-
hers and divines, that ſome allowance ought to
e given to human infirmity, and to the prejudi-
es of a wrong education.

I am well aware, how much my ſentiments dif-
er from the *orthodox* opinions of one or two prin-
ipal patriots, at the head of whom I name with
onour Piſtorides. For theſe have decided the
natter directly againſt me, by declaring, that no
perſon, who was ever known to lie under the
ſuſpicion of one ſingle *tory* principle, or who had
been once ſeen at a great man's levee in the
*worſt of times**, ſhould be allowed to come within
the verge of the caſtle; much leſs to bow in the
anti-chamber, appear at the *aſſemblies*, or dance
at a birth-night. However, I dare aſſert, that
this maxim hath been often controlled; and that,
on the contrary, a conſiderable number of *early
penitents* have been received into grace, who are
now

* The three laſt years of queen Anne, when Lord Oxford
was miniſter, were ſo called by the whigs. *Hawkeſ.*

now an *ornament*, *happineſs*, and *ſupport* to the
tion.

Neither do I find any murmuring on ſom
ther points of greater importance, where this
vourite maxim is not ſo ſtrictly obſerved.

To inſtance only in one. I have not he
that any care hath hitherto been taken to diſc
whether madam * Violante be a *whig* or *tor*
her principles; or even that ſhe hath ever b
offered the oaths to the government: on the c
trary, I am told, that ſhe openly profeſſeth he
to be a *high-flyer;* and it is not improbable,
her outlandiſh name, ſhe may alſo be a *papi*
her heart; yet we ſee this illuſtrious and dan
rous female openly careſſed by principal per
of both parties; who contribute to ſupport he
a ſplendid manner, without the leaſt apprel
ſions from a *grand-jury*, or even from 'ſq
Hartly Hutcheſon himſelf, that *zealous profec*
of hawkers and libels. And, as Hobbes wi
obſerves, *ſo much money* being equivalent t
much power, it may deſerve conſidering, v
what ſafety ſuch an inſtrument of *power* ough
be truſted in the hands of an *alien*, who hath
given any legal ſecurity for her good affectio
the government.

I confeſs, there is one evil which I could v
our friends would think proper to redreſs. Th
are many *whigs* in this kingdom, of the *old-faſh*
ed ſtamp, of whom we might make very good u
they bear the ſame loyalty with us to the Ha
ver

* A famous Italian rope-dancer. *Hawkeſ.*

verian family in the perſon of king George II.; the ſame abhorrence of the *pretender*, with the conſequences of *popery* and *ſlavery*, and the ſame indulgence to *tender conſciences*: but, having nothing to aſk for themſelves, and, therefore, the more leiſure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears, and melancholy proſpects concerning the ſtate of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miſerable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both *whig* and *tory*; who, if they have any thing to loſe, muſt be equally ſufferers. Perhaps, one or two of theſe melancholy gentlemen will ſometimes venture to publiſh their thoughts in print: now I can by no means approve our uſual cuſtom of curſing and railing at this ſpecies of thinkers, under the names of *tories*, *jacobites*, *libellers*, *rebels*, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, angry, buſtling, well-meaning mortal Piſtorides; who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference, than a mixture of *pity* on one ſide, and of *averſion* on the other.

How hath he been pelted, peſtered and pounded by one ſingle wag, who promiſeth never to forſake him, living or dead?

I was much pleaſed with the humour of a *ſurgeon* in this town; who having, in his own apprehenſion, received ſome great injuſtice from the Earl of Galway, and deſpairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had

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ſet apart one hundred guineas, to purchaſe Earl's carcaſe from the ſexton, whenever *it* ſho die, to make a ſkeleton of the bones, ſtuff the hi and ſhew them for three pence; and thus vengeance for the injuries he had ſuffered by owner.

Of the like ſpirit too often is that implaca race of wits, againſt whom there is no defe but innocence and philoſophy; neither of wh is likely to be at hand; and, therefore, wounded have no where to fly for a cure, bu downright ſtupidity, a crazed head, or a pro gate contempt of guilt and ſhame.

I am, therefore, ſorry for that other miſera creature Traulus: who, although of ſomewh different ſpecies, yet ſeems very far to out-do e the genius of Piſtorides, in that miſcarrying lent of railing without conſiſtency or diſcret againſt the moſt innocent perſons, according the preſent ſituation of his gall and ſpleen. I not blame an *honeſt* gentleman for the bitte invectives againſt one, to whom he profeſſeth greateſt friendſhip; provided he acts in the d ſo as not to be diſcovered: but, in the midſ *careſſes*, *viſits*, and *invitations*, to run into ſtreets, or to as *public a place*, and, without leaſt pretended incitement, ſputter out the ba and falſeſt accuſations; then to wipe his mo come up ſmiling to his friend, ſhake him by hand, and tell him in a whiſper, it was *all for ſervice*: this proceeding I am bold to thin great failure in prudence: and I am afraid

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ſuch a practitioner, with a body ſo *open*, ſo *foul*, and ſo *full of ſores*, may fall under the reſentment of an incenſed political *ſurgeon*, who is not in much renown for his mercy upon great provocation; who, without waiting for his death, will *flay* and *diſſect* him alive; and, to the view of mankind, lay open all the diſordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and ſpots and flatus's of his ſpleen: and all this for *three-pence*.

In ſuch a caſe, what a ſcene would be laid open! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our miſtaken friend might an angry enemy draw and expoſe! particulariſing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies, ſo inconſiſtent with each other in the ſame breaſt: furious and fawning, ſcurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, inſolent and abject; moſt profligately falſe, with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincerity; poſitive and variable, tyrannical and ſlaviſh.

I apprehend, that if all this ſhould be ſet out to the world by an angry whig of the *old* ſtamp, the unavoidable conſequence muſt be, a confinement of our *friend*, for ſome months *more*, to his garret; and thereby depriving the public, for ſo long time, and in ſo *important a juncture*, of his uſeful talents in their ſervice, while he is fed like a wild beaſt through a hole; but I hope with a ſpecial regard to the *quantity* and *quality* of his nouriſhment.

In vain would his excuſers endeavour to palliate his enormities, by imputing them to madneſs; becauſe

becauſe it is well known, that madneſs only operates by inflaming and enlarging the good or evil diſpoſitions of the mind. For the *curators* of Bedlam aſſure us, that ſome lunatics are perſons of *honour*, *truth*, *benevolence*, and many other virtues, which appear in their higheſt ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others, on the contrary, diſcover, in every word and action, the utmoſt *baſeneſs* and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they poſſeſſed in the ſame degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that *academy*.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force to excuſe the overflowings of that zeal, which our *friend* ſhews or means for our cauſe. And it muſt be confeſſed, that the *eaſy and ſmooth fluency of his elocution*, *beſtowed on him by nature*, *and cultivated by continual practice*, added to the *comelineſs of his perſon*, the *harmony of his voice*, the *gracefulneſs of his manner*, and the *decency of his dreſs*, are temptations too ſtrong for ſuch a genius to reſiſt upon any public occaſion of making them appear with *univerſal applauſe*. And if good men are ſometimes accuſed of loving their *jeſt* better than their *friend*; ſurely, to gain the reputation of the firſt *orator* in the kingdom, no man of ſpirit would ſcruple to loſe all the *friends* he had in the world.

It is uſual for maſters to make their boys declaim on both ſides of an argument; and, as ſome kinds of aſſemblies are called *the ſchools of politics*, I confeſs nothing can better improve political

litical ſchool-boys, than the art of making plauſible or implauſible harangues againſt the very opinion for which they reſolve to determine.

So cardinal Perron, after having ſpoke for an hour, to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the exiſtence of God, told ſome of his intimates, that he could have ſpoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reaſoning in the ſtrongeſt light that I think it will bear; and have nothing to anſwer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader ſhall pleaſe, it hath conſtantly met with ill ſucceſs in the mouth of our *friend*; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I ſuſpend my judgment.

To return from this long digreſſion: If perſons in high ſtations have *been allowed* to chooſe *wenches* without regard to difference in religion, *yet* never *incurred* the leaſt reflection on their loyalty, or their proteſtantiſm; ſhall the chief governor of a great kingdom be cenſured for chooſing a *companion*, who may formerly have been ſuſpected for differing from the *orthodox* in ſome ſpeculative opinions of perſons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a ſound *whig?*

But let me ſuppoſe a very poſſible caſe. Here is a perſon ſent to govern Ireland, whoſe unfortunate weak ſide it happens to be, for ſeveral reaſons above mentioned, that he hath encouraged *one* or *two* gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their taſte, their wit, and their learning; who have taken the oaths to his majeſty, and pray heartily for

him; yet becauſe they may perhaps be ſtigmatized as *quondam* tories, by Piſtorides and his gang, his excellency muſt be forced to baniſh them, under the pain and peril of diſpleaſing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worſe condition than every common good fellow, who may be a ſincere *proteſtant* and a loyal ſubject, and yet rather chooſe to drink fine ale at the *pope's* head, than muddy at the *king's*.

Let me then return to my ſuppoſitions. It is certain, the high-flown loyaliſts, in the *preſent* ſenſe of the word, have their thoughts, and ſtudies, and tongues, ſo entirely diverted by political ſchemes, that the *zeal* of their *principles* hath *eaten* up their *underſtandings*; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuſe themſelves with philological converſe or ſpeculations, which are utterly ruinous to all ſchemes of riſing in the world. What then muſt a great man do, whoſe ill ſtars have fatally perverted him to a love and taſte, and poſſeſſion of literature, politeneſs, and good ſenſe? our thorough-ſped republic of whigs, which contains the bulk of all *hopers*, *pretenders*, *expecters*, and *profeſſors*, are, beyond all doubt, moſt *highly uſeful* to princes, to governors, to great miniſters, and to their country; but at the ſame time, and by neceſſary conſequence, the moſt diſagreeable companions to all, who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or ſix more in a nation.

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I do not deny it poſſible, that an original or proſelyte favourite of the times might have been born to thoſe uſeleſs talents, which, in former ages, qualified a man to be a poet, or a philoſopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, *it ſweeps the houſe clean*, and leaves room for many *other ſpirits* to take joint poſſeſſion, until the *laſt ſtate of that man is exceedingly* better *than the firſt*.

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres ſo obſtinately to his old *unfaſhionable* academic education; yet ſo perverſe is human nature, that the uſual remedies for this evil in others, have produced a contrary effect in him; to a degree, that I am credibly informed, he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a ſeſſion, quote paſſages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table, to ſome *book-learned* companion, without bluſhing, even when perſons of *great ſtations* are by.

I will venture one ſtep further; which is, freely to confeſs, that this miſtaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language, is too apt to ſpoil their *politics* and *principles*; becauſe the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them leſſons *directly contrary, in every point*, to the *preſent practice* of the world: and accordingly Hobbes moſt judiciouſly obſerves, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans, made young men imbibe opinions againſt abſolute power in a prince, or even in a

miniſter; and to embrace notions of libert
property.

It hath been therefore a great felicity in
kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large
have a weakneſs in their eyes, a tender
their conſtitutions; are not able to bear th
and indignity of whipping; and, as the n
rightly expreſſes it, could never *take to their*
yet are well enough qualified to ſign a rece
half a year's rent, to put their names (*rightl*
to a warrant, and to read pamphlets again
gion and *high-flying;* whereby they fill
niches, and carry themſelves through the
with that dignity, which beſt becomes a
and a *Squire.*

I could heartily wiſh his excellency wo
more condeſcending to the *genius* of the kin
he governs; to the condition of the time
to the nature of the ſtation he fills. Yet i
true, what I have read in old Engliſh ſtory-
that one Ageſilaus (no matter to the bulk
readers whether I ſpell the name right or
was caught by the *parſon of the pariſh* ridin
hobby-horſe with his children; that Socr
heathen philoſopher, was found dancing b
ſelf at fourſcore; that a king called Cæſ
guſtus (or ſome ſuch name) uſed to pla
boys, whereof ſome might poſſibly be f
tories; and that two great men called Sci
Lelius, (I forget their *chriſtian* names, an
ther they were poets or generals) often pl
duck and *drake* with ſmooth ſtones on

low, I ſay, if theſe facts be true, (and the book where I found them is in print) I cannot imagine, why our moſt zealous patriots may not a ittle indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public ſcandal; which is by all means to be avoided: I ſay, why he may not be indulged twice a week, to converſe with one or two particular perſons; and let him and them conn over their old *exploded* readings together, after mornings ſpent in hearing and preſcribing *ways and means* from and to his *moſt obedient* politicians for the welfare of the kingdom; although the ſaid particular perſon or perſons may not have made ſo public a declaration of their political faith, in all its parts, as the buſineſs of the nation requires: ſtill ſubmitting my opinion to that *happy majority*, which I am confident is *always in the right;* by whom the *liberty* of the ſubject hath been ſo frequently, ſo ſtrenuouſly, and ſo ſucceſsfully aſſerted; who, by their wiſe counſels, have made *commerce* to flouriſh, *money* to abound, inhabitants to encreaſe, the value of lands and rents to riſe; and the whole iſland put on a new face of *plenty* and *proſperity*.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accuſation of ſhewing his favours to *high-flyers*, *tories* and *jacobites*, it will be neceſſary to come to particulars.

The firſt perſon of a *tory* denomination, to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour, was doctor Thomas Sheridan. It is to be

obſerved, that this happened ſo early in his excellency's government, as it may be juſtly ſuppoſed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon ſo *dangerous* an article. The doctor being well known, and diſtinguiſhed for his ſkill and ſucceſs in the education of youth, beyond moſt of his profeſſion for many years paſt, was recommended to his excellency on the ſcore of his learning, and particularly, for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it ſeems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reaſons, I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his lordſhip was too eaſily prevailed on by the doctor's requeſt, or, indeed, rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that *unknown* language by the doctor's lads, which was written by ſome heathen author; but, whether it contained any *tory* or *high-church* principles, muſt be left to the conſciences of the *boys*, and the *doctor*, and his *excellency*: the *only* witneſſes, in this caſe, whoſe teſtimonies can be depended upon.

It ſeems, his excellency (a thing never to be ſufficiently wondered at) was ſo pleaſed with his entertainment, that, ſome time after, he gave the doctor a church-living, to the value of almoſt one hundred pounds a year, and made him one of his chaplains; from an *antiquated* notion, that good ſchoolmaſters ought to be encouraged in every nation profeſſing civility and religion. Yet his excellency did not venture to make this bold ſtep without ſtrong recommendations from per-

for

ſons of undoubted principles *fitted to the times*; who thought themſelves bound, in juſtice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of thoſe of their friends. Yet the cataſtrophe was terrible; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude, going down to take poſſeſſion of his pariſh, and furniſhed with a few led ſermons, whereof, as it is to be ſuppoſed, the number was very ſmall, having never ſerved a cure in the church; he ſtopped at Corke to attend on his biſhop; and, going to church on the *Sunday* following, was, according to the uſual civility of country clergymen, invited by the miniſter of the pariſh to ſupply the pulpit. It *happened* to be the firſt of Auguſt; and the firſt of Auguſt *happened*, that year, to light upon a *Sunday*: and it *happened*, that the doctor's text was in theſe words; *Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof**: and laſtly, it *happened*, that ſome one perſon of the congregation, whoſe loyalty made him watchful, upon every appearance of danger to his majeſty's perſon and government, when ſervice was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately ſent up to town; and, by the zeal of one man, *of no large dimenſions of body or mind*, ſuch a clamour was raiſed, that we in Dublin could apprehend no leſs than an invaſion by the *pretender*, who muſt be landed in the *ſouth*. The reſult was, that the doctor muſt be ſtruck out of the

* The firſt of Auguſt is the anniverſary of the Hanoverian family's acceſſion to the crown of Great Britain. *Hawkeſ.*

the chaplains liſt, and appear no more at the caſtle; yet, whether he were then, or be at this day, a *whig* or a *tory*, I think is a ſecret; only it is manifeſt, that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at leaſt in poetry, and a great admirer of the preſent royal family, through all its branches. His friends likewiſe aſſert, that he had preached this ſermon often under the ſame text; that, not having obſerved the words till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a perſon a little abſtracted, he wanted preſence of mind to change them: and that, in the whole ſermon, there was not a ſyllable relating to government or party, or to the ſubject of the day.

In this incident, there ſeems to have been an union of events, that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at leaſt, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they ſay can arrive but once in twenty thouſand years.

The ſecond gentleman (if I am right in my chronology) who, under the ſuſpicion of a *tory*, received ſome favour from his excellency, is Mr. James Stopford; very ſtrongly recommended by the moſt eminent *whig* in England, on the account of his learning, and virtue, and other accompliſhments. He had paſſed the greateſt part of his youth in cloſe ſtudy, or in travelling; and was either not at home, or not at leiſure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omiſſion, although I cannot honeſtly place him in the liſt of *tories*: and therefore, think

think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him vicar of Finglas, worth about one hundred pounds a year.

The third is doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies under ſome diſadvantage; having, in his youth, received many civilities from a certain perſon*, then in a very high ſtation here; for which reaſon, I doubt the doctor never drank his confuſion ſince; and, what makes the matter deſperate, it is now too late; unleſs our *inquiſitors* will be content with drinking *confuſion* to his *memory*. The aforeſaid eminent perſon, who was a judge of all merit, except that of *party*, diſtinguiſhed the doctor among other juniors in our univerſity, for his learning, virtue, diſcretion, and good ſenſe. But the doctor was then in too good a ſituation at his college, to hope or endeavour at a better eſtabliſhment from one, who had no power to give it him.

Upon the preſent Lord Lieutenant's coming over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a *friend*†, among other clergy of diſtinction, as perſons whoſe characters it was proper his excellency ſhould know; and by the truth of which, the *giver* would be content to ſtand or fall in his excellency's opinion; ſince not one of thoſe perſons were in particular friendſhip with the *gentleman* who gave in their names. By this, and ſome other incidents, particularly the recommendation of

* Sir Conſtantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, when Queen Anne died.

† The author.

of the late archbiſhop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his excellency, whoſe fatal turn of mind towards *heatheniſh* and *outlandiſh* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like diſpoſition in the doctor, was the cauſe of his becoming ſo domeſtic, as we are told he is, at the caſtle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago, the doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for ſome reaſons beſt known to the managers of the diſcipline in that learned ſociety, (which it may not be for their honour to mention) reſolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his ſenior fellowſhip, with all its perquiſites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thouſand pounds. And a ſmall northern living, in the univerſity's donation, of ſomewhat better than one hundred pounds a year, falling at the ſame time with the chancellorſhip of Chriſt-church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his excellency; the doctor ventured into the world in a very ſcanty condition; having ſquandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to diſcover either on the exchange, or at a banker's ſhop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in St. Patrick's cathedral; which being of near the ſame value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he ſhall have paid the great incumbrances

ances upon it; ſo that he may now be ſaid to
ſſeſs of church-preferments, in ſcattered tithes,
ree hundred pounds a year; inſtead of the like
m of infallible rents from a ſenior fellowſhip,
ith the offices annexed; beſide the advantage of
free lodging, a great number of pupils, and
me other eaſements.

But, ſince the doctor hath not, in any of his
ritings, his ſermons, his actions, his diſcourſe,
his company, diſcovered one ſingle principle of
her *whig* or *tory*; and that the Lord Lieute-
nt ſtill continues to admit him; I ſhall boldly
onounce him ONE OF US: but, like a new
e-maſon, who hath not yet learned all the dia-
ct of the myſtery. Neither can he juſtly be ac-
ſed of any *tory* doctrines; except perhaps ſome
nong thoſe few, with which that *wicked party*
as charged during the height of their power,
it have been ſince transferred, for the moſt *ſolid*
aſons, to the *whole body* of our firmeſt friends.

I have now done with the clergy: and, upon
e ſtricteſt examination, have not been able to
id above one of that order, againſt whom any
rty ſuſpicion can ly; I mean the unfortunate
ntleman doctor Sheridan, who, by mere chance-
edley, ſhot his own fortune dead with a ſingle
t.

As to the laity, I can hear of but one perſon of
e *tory* ſtamp, who, ſince the beginning of his
cellency's government, did ever receive any ſo-
mark of his favour; I mean Sir Arthur A-
ſon, reported to be an acknowledged *tory*; and,
what

of the late archbiſhop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his excellency, whoſe fatal turn of mind towards *heatheniſh* and *outlandiſh* books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like diſpoſition in the doctor, was the cauſe of his becoming ſo domeſtic, as we are told he is, at the caſtle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago, the doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for ſome reaſons beſt known to the managers of the diſcipline in that [illegible] which it may not be for their after which, it may be [illegible] thur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithſtanding his *unfortunate* principles, and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, *&c.* 500l. the intereſt whereof *per annum* - -	30	0	0
For all manner of poultry to furniſh the troopers, but which the ſaid troopers muſt be at the labour of catching, valued, *per annum*	5	0	0
For ſtraggling ſheep - -	8	0	0
For game deſtroyed five miles round -	6	0	0
	49	0	0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur - -	60	0	0
Deduct - - -	49	0	0
Remains clear - -	11	0	0

Thus,

* See a poem upon this incident, entitled, *The grand queſtion debated, &c.* Vol. IX.

brances upon it; ſo that he may now be ſaid to poſſeſs of church-preferments, in ſcattered tithes, three hundred pounds a year; inſtead of the like ſum of infallible rents from a ſenior fellowſhip, with the offices annexed; beſide the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and ſome other eaſements.

But, ſince the doctor hath not, in any of his writings, his ſermons, his actions, his diſcourſe, or his company, diſcovered one ſingle principle of either *whig* or *tory*; and that the Lord Lieutenant ſtill continues to [illegible] among the farmers there, of leaving their country. But I am not ſo ſkilful in arithmetic, as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one *per cent.* below the legal intereſt for the money that Sir Arthur muſt expend; and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may, with good management, be a *ſaver* at leaſt; which is a *prodigious inſtance of moderation* in our friends towards a profeſſed *tory*; whatever merit he may pretend, by the unwillingneſs he hath ſhewn to make his excellency uneaſy in his adminiſtration.

Thus I have, with the utmoſt impartiality, collected every ſingle favour (further than perſonal civilities) conferred by his excellency on *tories*, and reputed *tories*, ſince his firſt arrival hither to this 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance poſſible to the arguments on the other ſide of the queſtion; and the accompt will ſtand thus:

Diſpoſed of preferments and employments to *tories*, or reputed *tories*, by his excellency John Lord Carteret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in about the ſpace of ſix years:

To doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory near Kinſale, *per ann.*	100 0 0
To Sir Arthur Acheſon, Baronet, a barrack, *per ann.*	11 0 0
	111 0 0

Give me leave now to compute in groſs the value of the favours done by his excellency to the *true friends* of their king and country, and of the *proteſtant religion*.

It is to be remembered, that, although his excellency cannot be properly ſaid to beſtow biſhoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commiſſioner in the revenue, and ſome others; yet they are for the moſt part diſpoſed upon his recommendation, except where the perſons are immediately ſent from England by their intereſt at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the *only* conſiderable ſtation conferred on a *tory* ſince his preſent excellency's government, was of this *latter* kind.

And indeed it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous

rous, more powerful, and of conſequence more formidable) *real tories* can often, with much leſs difficulty, obtain very high favours from the government, than their *reputed* brethren can arrive to the loweſt in ours. I obſerve this with all poſſible ſubmiſſion to the wiſdom of their policy; which however will not, I believe, diſpute the praiſe of vigilance with ours.

WHIG account.

To perſons promoted to biſhoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed *per ann.*	10,050 0 0
To civil employments - - -	9030 0 0
To military commands - -	8436 0 0
	27,516 0 0

TORY account.

To *tories* - - - -	111 0 0
Balance - - - -	27,405 0 0

I ſhall conclude with this obſervation, that as I think the *tories* have ſufficient reaſon to be *fully ſatisfied* with the ſhare of *truſt*, *power*, and *employments*, which they poſſeſs under the *lenity* of the preſent government; ſo, I do not find how his excellency can be juſtly cenſured for favouring none but *high-church*, *high-flyers*, *termagants*, *Laudiſts*, *Sacheverelians*, *tip-top-gallant-men*, *jacobites*, *tantivys*, *anti-hanoverians*, *friends to popery*

and the pretender and to arbitrary power, diſo
of England, *breakers of* DEPENDENCY, *i*
ers of quarrels between the two nations, pub
cendiaries, enemies to the king and kingdoms,
of TRUE *proteſtants, laurel men, Anniſts*
plainers of the nation's poverty, Ormondians,
claſts, anti-glorious-memoriſts, anti-revolut
white-roſaliſts, tenth-a-junians, and the like;
by a fair ſtate of the account, the balance,
ceive, *ſeems to lie* on the other ſide.

C

CONSIDERATIONS upon two BILLS ſent down from the right honourable the houſe of LORDS to the honourable the houſe of COMMONS in IRELAND, relating to the CLERGY *.

Written in the year 1731.

I HAVE often, for above a month paſt, deſired ſome few clergymen, who are pleaſed to viſit me, that they would procure an extract of two BILLS brought into the council by ſome of the biſhops, and both of them ſince paſſed in the *houſe of lords*: but I could never obtain what I deſired, whether by the forgetfulneſs or negligence of thoſe whom I employed, or the difficulty of the thing itſelf. Therefore, if I ſhall happen to miſtake in any fact of conſequence, I deſire my remarks upon it may paſs for nothing; for my information is no better, than what I received in words from ſeveral divines, who ſeemed to agree with each other. I have not the honour to

* In the year 1731, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, by a great majority of the right reverend the biſhops, for enabling them to divide the livings of the inferior clergy; which bill was approved of in the privy council of Ireland, and paſſed by the lords in parliament. It was afterwards ſent to the houſe of commons for their approbation; but was rejected by them with a great majority. The author of the following conſiderations, who hath always been the beſt friend to the inferior clergy of the church of England, as may be ſeen by many parts of his writings, oppoſed this pernicious project with great ſucceſs; which, if it had paſſed into a law, would have been of the moſt conſequence to this nation.

be acquainted with any one ſingle *prelate* kingdom; and am a ſtranger to their *cha* further than as common fame reports which is not to be depended on: therefore not be ſuppoſed to act upon a principle of ment. I eſteem their functions (if I may lowed to ſay ſo without offence) as truly *cal*, and abſolutely neceſſary to the perfec a *chriſtian church*.

There are no qualities more incident frailty and corruptions of human kind, t indifference or inſenſibility for other mens ings, and a ſudden forgetfulneſs of their ow mer humble ſtate, when they riſe in the Theſe two diſpoſitions have not, I thin where ſo ſtrongly exerted themſelves, as order of biſhops with regard to the inferic gy; for which I can find no reaſons, but t naturally ſhould ſeem to operate a quite co way. The maintenance of the clergy th out the kingdom is precarious and uncertai lected from a moſt miſerable race of be farmers; at whoſe mercy every *miniſter* lie defrauded. His office as *rector* or *vicar*, if duly executed, is very laborious. As ſoon is promoted to a *biſhopric*, the ſcene is c and happily changed; his revenues are larg as ſurely paid as thoſe of the *king*; his whe ſineſs is once a-year to receive the atten the ſubmiſſion, and the proxy-money of clergy, in whatever part of the dioceſe h pleaſe to think moſt convenient for h

N

er is his perſonal preſence neceſſary; for the ſs may be done by a *vicar general*. The e of ordination is juſt what the biſhops to make it; and as matters have been for time, and may probably remain, the fewer ations the better. The reſt of their viſible a conſiſts in the honour of attending parlia- and councils, and beſtowing preferments ir own gift; in which laſt employment, and ir ſpiritual and temporal courts, the labour o their *vicars-general*, *ſecretaries*, *proctors*, *tors*, *ſeneſchals*, and the like. Now, I ſay, quick a change, whereby their brethren in a ays are become their ſubjects, it would be able at leaſt to hope that the labour, con- ent, and ſubjection, from which they have ly eſcaped, *like a bird out of the ſnare of the* , might a little incline them to remember ndition of thoſe who were but laſt week equals, probably their companions or their s, and poſſibly as reaſonable expectants. is a known ſtory of colonel Tidcomb, who, he continued a ſubaltern officer, was every omplaining againſt the pride, oppreſſion, ard treatment of *colonels* towards their *offi-* yet in a very few minutes after he had re- his commiſſion for a regiment, walking a friend on the *Mall*, he confeſſed that the of colonelſhip was coming faſt upon him, ſpirit is ſaid to have daily increaſed to the of his death.

is true, the clergy of this kingdom, who are

are promoted to *bishoprics*, have always some great advantages; either that of rich deaneries, opulent and multiplied rectories and dignities, strong alliances by birth or marriage, fortified by a superlative degree of zeal and loyalty: but however, they were all at first no more than young beginners; and before their great promotion, were known by their plain *christian* names among their old companions, the middling rate of *clergymen*; nor could therefore be strangers to their condition, or with any good grace forget it so soon, as it hath too often happened.

I confess, I do not remember to have observed any body of men acting with so little concert, as our *clergy* have done in a point, where their opinions appeared to be unanimous: a point wherein their whole temporal support was concerned, as well as their power of serving God and his church in their spiritual functions. This hath been imputed to their fear of disobliging, or hope of further favours upon compliance; because it was observed, that some who appeared at first with the greatest zeal, thought fit suddenly to absent themselves from the usual meetings: yet we know, what expert *solicitors* the *quakers*, the *dissenters*, and even the *papists* have sometimes found to drive a point of advantage, or prevent an impending evil.

I have not seen any extract from the two bill introduced by the bishops into the privy council where the clergy, upon some failure in favour or through the timorousness of many among their brethren

brethren, were refuſed to be heard by the council. It ſeems, theſe bills were both returned, agreed to by the king and council in England, and the *houſe of lords* hath with great expedition paſſed them both; and it is ſaid, they are immediately to be ſent down to the *commons* for their conſent.

The particulars, as they have been imperfectly reported to me, are as follow:

By one of the bills, the biſhops have power to oblige the country clergy to build a manſion-houſe upon whatever part of their glebes their lordſhips ſhall command; and if the living be above 50 l. a year, the miniſter is bound to build, after three years, a houſe that ſhall coſt one year and a half's rent of his income. For inſtance, if a clergyman with a wife and ſeven children gets a living of 55 l. *per annum*, he muſt after three years build a houſe that ſhall coſt 77 l. 10 s. and muſt ſupport his family, during the time the biſhop ſhall appoint for the building of it, with the remainder. But if the living be under 50 l. a year, the miniſter ſhall be allowed 100 l. out of the firſt fruits.

But there is ſaid to be one circumſtance a little extraordinary; that if there be a ſingle ſpot in the glebe more barren, more marſhy, more expoſed to the winds, more diſtant from the church, or ſkeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building; the rector or vicar may be obliged, by the caprice, or pique of the biſhop, to build, under pain of ſequeſtration (an office, which

ever

ever falls into the moſt knaviſh hands) upon whatever part his *lordſhip* ſhall command; although the farmers have not paid one quarter of his dues.

I believe, under the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdom (which inevitably without a miracle muſt increaſe for ever) there are not ten country clergymen in Ireland, reputed to poſſeſs a pariſh of 100 l. *per annum*, who for ſome years paſt have actually received 60 l. and that with the utmoſt difficulty and vexation. I am therefore at a loſs, what kind of valuators the *biſhops* will make uſe of; and whether the ſtarving *vicar* ſhall be forced to build his houſe with the money he never received.

The other bill, which paſſed in two days after the former, is ſaid to concern the diviſion of pariſhes into as many parcels as the *biſhop* ſhall think fit, only leaving 300 l. a year to the *mother* church; which 300 l. by another *act* paſſed ſome years ago, they can divide likewiſe, and crumble as low as their will and pleaſure will diſpoſe them. So that, inſtead of ſix hundred clergymen, which, I think, is the uſual computation, we may have in a ſmall compaſs of years almoſt as many thouſands to live with decency and comfort, provide for their children, be charitable to the poor, and maintain hoſpitality.

But it is very reaſonable to hope, and heartily to be wiſhed by all thoſe, who have the leaſt regard to our holy religion as hitherto eſtabliſhed, or to a learned, pious, diligent converſable *clergyman*,

man, or even to common humanity, that the *honourable houſe of commons* will, in their great wiſdom, juſtice and tenderneſs to innocent men, conſider theſe bills in another light. It is ſaid, they well know this kingdom not to be ſo overſtocked with neighbouring gentry, but a diſcreet learned *clergyman*, with a competency fit for one of his education, may be an entertaining, a uſeful, and ſometimes a neceſſary companion: That, although ſuch a clergyman may not be able conſtantly to find *beef* and *wine* for his own family, yet he may be allowed ſometimes to afford both to a neighbour without diſtreſſing himſelf; and the rather, becauſe he may expect at leaſt as good a return. It will probably be conſidered, that in many deſolate parts, there may not be always a ſufficient number of perſons conſiderable enough to be truſted with *commiſſions of the peace*, which ſeveral of the *clergy* now ſupply much better, than a little, hedge, contemptible, illiterate *vicar* from twenty to fifty pounds a year, the ſon of a *weaver*, *pedlar*, *taylor*, or *miller*, can be preſumed to do.

The landlords and farmers by this ſcheme can find no profit, but will certainly be loſers. For inſtance, if the large northern livings be ſplit into a dozen pariſhes or more, it will be very neceſſary for the little threadbare *gownman*, with his wife, his proctor, and every child who can crawl, to watch the fields at harveſt time for fear of loſing a ſingle ſheaf, which he could not afford under peril of a day's ſtarving: for, according to the Scotch

Scotch proverb, *a hungry louſe bites ſore.* Th would of neceſſity breed an infinite number wrangles and litigious ſuits in the ſpiritual court and put the wretched *paſtor* at perpetual varian with his whole pariſh. But, as they have hithe to ſtood, a clergyman eſtabliſhed in a compete living, is not under the neceſſity of being ſo ſhar vigilant, and exacting. On the contrary, it well known and allowed, that the clergy rou the kingdom think themſelves well treated, they loſe only one ſingle third of their legal d mands.

The honourable houſe may perhaps be inclin to conceive, that my *lords* the *biſhops* enjoy ample a power both ſpiritual and temporal, will fully ſuffice to anſwer every branch of the office: that they want no laws to regulate th conduct of thoſe clergymen, over whom th preſide: that, if non-reſidence be a grievanc it is the patron's fault, who makes not a bett choice, or cauſed the plurality: that, if th general, impartial character of perſons choſen in the church had been more regarded, and th motive of *party*, *alliance*, *kindred*, *flatterers*, *judgement*, or *perſonal favour* regarded leſs, the would be fewer complaints of non-reſidenc want of care, blameable behaviour, or any oth part of miſconduct; not to mention *ignorance* a *ſtupidity*.

I could name certain gentlemen of the gow whoſe awkward, ſpruce, prim, ſneering, a ſmirking countenances, the very tone of th voic

ices, and ungainly ſtrut in their walk, with-
at one ſingle talent for any one office, have con-
ived to get good preferment by the mere force
f *flattery* and *cringing:* for which two virtues
the only two virtues they pretend to) they were,
owever, utterly unqualified: and whom, if I
ere in power, although they were my *nephews*,
r had married my *nieces*, I could never, in point
f good conſcience or honour, have recommended
o a *curacy* in Connaught.

The *honourable houſe of commons* may likewiſe
erhaps conſider, that the gentry of this kingdom
iffer from all others upon earth, being leſs ca-
able of employments in their own country, than
ny others who come from abroad; and, that
moſt of them have little expectation of providing
for their younger children otherwiſe than by the
church, in which there might be ſome hopes of
getting a tolerable maintenance. For after the
patrons ſhould have ſettled their *ſons*, their *ne-*
phews, their *nieces*, their *dependents*, and their *fol-*
lowers invited over from the other ſide, there
would ſtill remain an overplus of ſmaller church
preferments to be given to ſuch clergy of the na-
ion, who ſhall have their *quantum* of whatever
nerit may be then in faſhion. But by theſe bills,
hey will be all as abſolutely excluded, as if they
ad paſſed under the denomination of *tories;* un-
ſs they can be contented at the utmoſt with 50l.
year; which by the difficulties of collecting
thes in Ireland, and the daily increaſing miſeries
f the people, will hardly riſe to half that ſum.

It is obſerved, that the *divines* ſent over hither to govern this church, have not ſeemed to conſider the difference between both kingdoms with reſpect to the inferior *clergy*. As to themſelves indeed, they find a large revenue in lands let at one quarter value, which conſequently muſt be paid while there is a penny left among us; and the public diſtreſs ſo little affects their intereſts, that their fines are now higher than ever: they content themſelves to ſuppoſe, that whatever a pariſh is ſaid to be worth, comes all into the *parſon's* pocket.

The poverty of great numbers among the clergy of England, hath been the continual complaint of all men who wiſh well to the church, and many ſchemes have been thought on to redreſs it; yet an Engliſh *vicar* of 40 l. a year, lives much more comfortably than one of double the value in Ireland. His farmers, generally ſpeaking, are able and willing to pay him his full dues: he hath a decent church of antient ſtanding, filled every *Lord's day* with a large congregation of plain people, well clad, and behaving themſelves as if they believed in GOD and CHRIST. He hath a houſe and barn in repair, a field or two to graze his cows, with a garden and orchard. No gueſt expects more from him than a pot of ale: he lives like an honeſt plain farmer, as his wife is dreſſed but little better than *goody*. He is ſometimes graciouſly invited by the 'ſquire, where he ſits at an humble diſtance: if he gets the love of his people, they often make him little uſeful preſents:

ts: he is happy by being born to no higher tation; for he is uſually the ſon of ſome ary tradeſman, or middling farmer. His ng is much of a ſize with his birth and edu- ı; no more of either, than what a poor ry *ſervitor* can be expected to bring with him his *college*. It would be tedious to ſhew the ſe of all this in our diſtant poorer pariſhes gh moſt parts of Ireland, wherein every r may make the compariſon.

ſtly, the *honourable houſe of commons* may der, whether the ſcheme of multiplying beg- *clergymen* through the whole kingdom, who all have votes for chooſing parliament men ided they can prove their freeholds to be ı 40s. *per annum*, *ultra repriſas*) may not, by numbers, have great influence upon *elections*; ; entirely under the dependence of their *bi-*

For by a moderate computation, after all diviſions and ſubdiviſions of pariſhes, that *rds* the *biſhops* have power to make by their laws, there will, as ſoon as the preſent ſet ergy goes off, be raiſed an army of *eccleſiaſti- ilitants*, able enough for any kind of ſervice, ot that of the altar.

am indeed in ſome concern about a fund for ing a thouſand or two churches, wherein probationers may read their *wall lectures*; egin to doubt they muſt be contented with r; which *barns* will be one great advancing towards an accommodation with our *true pro- t brethren*, the *diſſenters*.

The ſcheme of encouraging *clergymen* to houſes, by dividing a living of 500 l. a yea ten parts, is a contrivance, the meaning wh hath got on the wrong ſide of my comprehen unleſs it may be argued, that *biſhops* buil houſes, becauſe they are ſo rich; and the the inferior *clergy* will certainly build, if yo duce them to beggary. But I knew a ver man of quality in England, who could nev perſuaded to keep a *ſervant* out of *livery*; be ſuch ſervants would be expenſive, and apt in to look like gentlemen; whereas the others ready to ſubmit to the baſeſt offices, and at a c er pennyworth might increaſe his retinue.

I hear, it is the opinion of many wiſe that before theſe bills paſs both houſes, they ſ be ſent back to England with the follo clauſes inſerted.

Firſt, that whereas there may be about a c double *biſhopricks* in Ireland, thoſe *biſho* ſhould be ſplit and given to different per and thoſe of a ſingle denomination be alſo di into two, three, or four parts, as occaſion require; otherwiſe there may be a queſtion ed, whether twenty two *prelates* can effec extend their paternal care, and unlimited p for the protection and correction of ſo g number of ſpiritual *ſubjects*. But this pr will meet with ſuch furious objections, t ſhall not inſiſt upon it; for I well remem have read, what a terrible fright the *frogs* we upon a report that the *ſun* was going to m

An

Another clauſe ſhould be, that none of theſe twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty pounders may be ſuffered to marry under the penalty of immediate deprivation; their marriages declared *null*, and their children baſtards: for ſome deſponding people take the kingdom to be in no condition of encouraging ſo numerous a breed of beggars.

A third clauſe will be neceſſary, that theſe humble gentry ſhould be abſolutely diſqualified from giving votes in *elections* for *parliament men.*

Others add a fourth; which is a clauſe of indulgence, that theſe reduced *divines* may be permitted to follow any lawful ways of living, which will not call them too often or too far from their ſpiritual offices: (for, unleſs I miſapprehend, they are ſuppoſed to have *epiſcopal ordination.)* For example; they may be lappers of linen, bailiffs of the manor: they may let blood, or apply plaſters for three miles round: they may get a diſpenſation to hold the *clerkſhip* and *ſextonſhip* of their own pariſh *in commendam.* Their wives and daughters may make ſhirts for the neighbourhood; or, if a *barrack* be near, for the *ſoldiers*: in linen countries they may *card* and *ſpin*, and keep a few looms in the houſe: they may let lodgings, and ſell a pot of ale without doors, but not at home, unleſs to ſober company, and at regular hours. It is by ſome thought a little hard, that in an affair of the laſt conſequence to the very being of the *clergy* in the points of liberty and property, as well as in their abilities to perform their duty, this whole reverend body, who are the eſtabliſhed in-

ſtructors of the nation in chriſtianity and moral virtues, and are the only perſons concerned, ſhould be the ſole perſons not conſulted. Let any ſcholar ſhew the like precedent in Chriſtendom for twelve hundred years paſt. An act of parliament for ſettling or ſelling an eſtate in a private family is never paſſed, until all parties give conſent. But in the preſent caſe, the whole body of the *clergy* is, as themſelves apprehend, determined to utter ruin, without once expecting or aſking their opinion; and this by a ſcheme contrived only by *one part* of the *convocation*, while the other part, which hath been choſen in the uſual forms, wants only the regal permiſſion to aſſemble, and conſult about the affairs of the church, as their predeceſſors have always done in former ages: where it is preſumed, the *lower houſe* hath a power of propoſing canons and a negative voice, as well as the upper. And God forbid (ſay theſe objectors) that there ſhould be a real ſeparate intereſt between the biſhops and clergy, any more than there is between a man and his wife, a king and his people, or CHRIST and his church.

It ſeems there is a proviſion in the bill, that no pariſh ſhall be cut into ſcraps without the conſent of ſeveral perſons, who can be no ſufferers in the matter; but I cannot find that the *clergy* lay much weight on this caution; becauſe they argue, that the very perſons, from whom theſe bills took their riſe, will have the greateſt ſhare in the deciſion.

I do not by any means conceive the crying ſin of the *clergy* in this kingdom to be that of *non-reſidence*.

ſidence. I am ſure, it is many degrees leſs ſo here than in England; unleſs the poſſeſſion of pluralities may paſs under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it muſt be imputed: I believe, upon a fair enquiry (and I hear an enquiry is to be made) they will appear to be moſt pardonably few; eſpecially, conſidering how many pariſhes have not an inch of *glebe*, and how difficult it is upon any reaſonable terms to find a place of habitation. And therefore, God knows whether my *lords the biſhops* will be ſoon able to convince the *clergy*, or thoſe who have any regard for that venerable body, that the chief motive in their *lordſhips* minds, by procuring theſe bills, was to prevent the ſin of *non-reſidence*; while the univerſal opinion of almoſt every *clergyman* in the kingdom, without diſtinction of party, taking in even thoſe who are not likely to be ſufferers, ſtands directly againſt them.

If ſome livings in the *north* may be juſtly thought too large a compaſs of land, which makes it inconvenient for the remoteſt inhabitants to attend the ſervice of the church, which in ſome inſtances may be true, no reaſonable *clergyman* would oppoſe a proper remedy by particular acts of parliament.

Thus for inſtance, the *deanry of* Down, a country *deanry* I think without a cathedral, depending wholly upon an union of pariſhes joined together in a time when the land lay waſte and thinly inhabited; ſince thoſe circumſtances are ſo prodigiouſly changed for the better, may properly be leſſened,

leſſened, leaving a decent competency to the *d* and placing *rectories* in the remaining churc which are now ſerved only by ſtipendiary *cur*

The caſe may be probably the ſame in o parts: and ſuch a proceeding diſcreetly mana would be truly for the good of the church.

For it is to be obſerved, that the dean chapter lands, which in England were all ſe under the fanatic uſurpation, are things known in Ireland, having been long ravi from the church by a ſucceſſion of confuſions, tythes applied in their ſtead to ſupport that ec ſiaſtical dignity.

The late * *archbiſhop of* Dublin had a very ferent way of encouraging the *clergy* of dioceſe to reſidence: when a leaſe had run ſeven years or more, he ſtipulated with the nant to reſign up twenty or thirty acres to miniſter of the pariſh where it lay conveni without leſſening his former rent; and with great abatement of the fine; and this he di the parts near Dublin, where land is at the hi eſt rates, leaving a ſmall chiefry for the mini to pay, hardly a ſixth part of the value. I dc not, that almoſt every *biſhop* in the kingdom i do the ſame generous act, with leſs damage their ſees, than his late *grace of* Dublin, muc whoſe lands were out in fee-farms, or leaſes lives; and I am ſorry that the good exampl ſuch a *prelate* hath not been followed.

But a great majority of the *clergy's* frie car

* The right reverend Dr. WILLIAM KING.

cannot hitherto reconcile themſelves to this project; which they call a *levelling principle*, that muſt inevitably root out the ſeeds of all honeſt emulation, the legal parent of the greateſt virtues and moſt generous actions among men; but which in the general opinion (for I do not pretend to offer my own) will never more have room to exert itſelf in the breaſt of any *clergyman*, whom this kingdom ſhall produce.

But, whether the conſequences of theſe bills may, by the virtues and frailties of future *biſhops* ſent over hither to rule the church, terminate in good or evil, I ſhall not preſume to determine, ſince God can work the *former* out of the *latter*. However, one thing I can venture to aſſert: That from the earlieſt ages of chriſtianity to the minute I am now writing, there never was a precedent of ſuch a proceeding, much leſs was it to be feared, hoped, or apprehended from ſuch hands in any chriſtian country; and ſo it may paſs for more than a *phœnix*; becauſe it hath riſen without any aſſiſtance from the *aſhes* of its *fire*.

The appearance of ſo many *diſſenters* at the hearing of this cauſe, is what, I am told, hath not been charged to the account of their prudence or moderation; becauſe that action hath been cenſured as a mark of *triumph* and inſult before the *victory* is complete: ſince neither of theſe bills hath yet paſſed the *houſe of commons*, and ſome are pleaſed to think it not impoſſible that they may be

be * rejected. Neither do I hear, that there is an enacting clauſe in either of the bills to apply any part of the divided or ſub-divided tythes towards encreaſing the ſtipends of the *ſectaries*. So that theſe gentlemen ſeem to be gratified like him, who, after having been kicked down ſtairs, took comfort, when he ſaw his friend kicked down after him.

I have heard many more objections againſt ſeveral particulars of both theſe bills; but they are of ſo high a nature, and carry ſuch dreadful *innuendoes*, that I dare not mention them, reſolving to give no offence; becauſe I well know how obnoxious I have long been (although I conceive without any fault of my own) to the zeal and principles of thoſe, who place all difference in opinion concerning public matters to the ſcore of *diſaffection*; whereof I am at leaſt as innocent as the loudeſt of my *detractors*.

Dublin, Feb. 24th,
1731-2.

A PRO-

* They were rejected in the *houſe of commons* by a great majority. *Hawkeſ.*

PROPOSAL

FOR

AN ACT of PARLIAMENT, to pay off the DEBT of the nation, without taxing the ſubject; by which the number of landed gentry will be conſiderably increaſed, and no perſon will be the poorer, or contribute one farthing to the charge. *

Written in the year 1732.

THE debts contracted ſome years paſt for the ſervice and ſafety of the nation, are known ſo great, that under our preſent diſtreſſed condition, by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay *abſentees*, regiments ſerving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom ſeems altogether unable to diſcharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a *poll* or *land tax* would be too odious to think of, eſpecially the latter; becauſe the lands, which have been let theſe ten or dozen years paſt, were raiſed ſo high, that the owner can at preſent hardly receive the rent at all. For it is the uſual practice of the Iriſh tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay; and in that caſe he grows deſperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a *land tax* upon

* The reader will perceive the following treatiſe to be altogether ironical.

on a racked eſtate would be a burthen whc
ſupportable.

The queſtion will then be, how theſe n
debts can be paid; and how I can mak
the ſeveral particulars of my propoſal; w
ſhall now lay open to the public.

The revenues of their graces and lordſhi
archbiſhops and biſhops of this kingdom (e
ing the fines) do amount by a moderate c
tation to 36,800 l. *per ann.*; I mean the
which the biſhops receive from their te
But the real value of thoſe lands at a full
taking the ſeveral ſees one with another, i
koned to be at leaſt three fourths more; ſc
multiplying 36,800 l. by 4, the full rent
the biſhops lands will amount to 147,20c
ann.; from which ſubtracting the preſent re
ceived by their lordſhips, that is, 36,800
profits of the lands received by the firſt a
cond tenants, (who both have great bar
will riſe to the ſum of 110,400 l. *per*
which lands, if they were to be ſold at t
two years purchaſe, would raiſe a ſi
2,428,800 l. reſerving to the biſhops their p
rents, only excluding fines.

Of this ſum, I propoſe, that out of the on
which amounts to 1,214,400 l. ſo much l
plied, as will intirely diſcharge the debts
nation; and the remainder be laid up i
treaſury to ſupply contingencies, as well
diſcharge ſome of our heavy taxes, unt
kingdom ſhall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the preſent ſet of biſhops would be great loſers by this ſcheme, for want of their fines; which would be hard treatment to ſuch *religious*, *loyal*, and *deſerving* perſonages; I have therefore ſet apart the other half to ſupply that defect, which it will more than ſufficiently do.

A biſhop's leaſe for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years purchaſe; but if we take the biſhops round, I ſuppoſe there may be four years of each leaſe elapſed; and many of the biſhops being well ſtricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than ſeven years purchaſe; ſo that the purchaſers may very well afford fifteen years purchaſe for the reverſion, eſpecially by one great additional advantage, which I ſhall ſoon mention.

This ſum of 2,428,800 l. muſt likewiſe be ſunk very conſiderably; becauſe the lands are to be ſold only at fifteen years purchaſe, and this leſſens the ſum to about 1,656,000 l. of which I propoſe twelve hundred thouſand pounds to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigencies; and the remaining 456,000 l. I propoſe as a fund for paying the preſent ſet of biſhops their fines; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public ſtock.

Although the biſhops round do not, in reality, receive three fines a-piece, which take up twenty-one years, yet I allow it to be ſo; but then I will ſuppoſe them to take but one year's rent, in recompence of giving them ſo large a term of

life; and thus, multiplying 36,800 by 3, the product will be only 110,400 l. ſo that above three-fourths will remain to be applied to public uſe.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excuſed as a ſtranger to the kingdom; which I never ſaw till I was called to an employment, and yet, where I intend to paſs the reſt of my days; but I took care to get the beſt informations I could, and from the moſt proper perſons; however, the miſtakes I may have been guilty of, will very little affect the main of my propoſal; although they ſhould cauſe a difference of one hundred thouſand pounds more or leſs.

Theſe fines are only to be paid to the biſhop during his incumbency in the ſame ſee: if he change it for a better, the purchaſers of the vacant ſee-lands are to come immediately into poſſeſſion of the ſee he hath left; and both the biſhop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines; for the removed biſhop will find his account by a larger revenue; and the other ſee will find candidates enow. For the law maxim will here have place *caveat emptor*; I mean, the perſons who ſucceed may chooſe whether they will accept or no.

As to the purchaſers, they will probably be tenants to the ſee, who are already in poſſeſſion and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will further explain myſelf. If a perſon already a biſhop, be removed into a richer ſee, he muſt be content with the bare revenues, without any fines; and ſo muſt he who comes into a biſhopr

ſhopric vacant by death: and this will bring the matter ſooner to bear; which, if the crown ſhall think fit to countenance, will ſoon change the preſent ſet of biſhops; and, conſequently, encourage purchaſers of their lands. For example; if a primate ſhould die, and the gradation be wiſely made, almoſt the whole ſet of biſhops might be changed in a month, each to his great advantage, although no fines were to be got; and thereby ſave a great part of that ſum, which I have appropriated towards ſupplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the biſhops lands two years purchaſe above the uſual computed rate, becauſe thoſe lands will have a ſanction from the king and council in England, and be confirmed by an act of parliament here: beſides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worſe lands, at the remoteſt diſtances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occaſioned by want of trade: when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to diſpoſe of it, but in buying of land; which, conſequently, makes the owners hold it ſo high.

Beſides paying the nation's debts, the ſale of theſe lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will conſiderably increaſe the number of gentry, where the biſhops tenants are not able or willing to purchaſe; for the lands will afford an hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each: ſeveral perſons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the

buyers, rather than give thirty years purchaſe at home, under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs: by which means, much money may be brought among us; and, probably, ſome of the purchaſers themſelves may be content to live cheap in a worſe country, rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies; and perhaps of *non-ſolvencies* in abſence, if they let their lands too high.

This propoſal will alſo multiply farmers, when the purchaſers will have lands in their own power to give long and eaſy leaſes to induſtrious huſbandmen.

I have allowed ſome biſhoprics, of equal income, to be of more or leſs value to the purchaſer, according as they are circumſtanced. For inſtance, the lands of the primacy, and ſome other ſees, are let ſo low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the biſhop, and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the ſees of Meath and Clonfert, conſiſting, as I am told, much of tithes, thoſe tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the ſee of Dublin is ſaid to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and ſome leaſes for lives, which pay very little, and not ſo ſoon, nor ſo duly.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the archbiſhops, and my lords the biſhops, will heartily join in this propoſal, out of gratitude to his late and preſent Majeſty, the beſt of kings, who have beſtowed on them ſuch high and opulent ſtations; as well as in pity to this country

country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be inſtrumental towards paying the nation's debts, without impoveriſhing themſelves; enrich an hundred gentlemen, as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordſhips from conſiderable perſons, whoſe birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than ſervile dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed.

If I do not flatter myſelf, there could not be any law more popular than this. For, the immediate tenants to biſhops, being ſome of them perſons of quality, and good eſtates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen, by the profits of theſe very leaſes, under a ſucceſſion of biſhops, think it a diſgrace to be ſubject both to rents and fines, at the pleaſure of their landlords. Then, the bulk of the tenants, eſpecially the *diſſenters*, who are our *true loyal* proteſtant brethren, look upon it both as an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that biſhops ſhould be owners of land at all, (wherein I beg leave to differ from them) being a point ſo contrary to the practice of the apoſtles, whoſe ſucceſſors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land ſhould be ſold for the common uſe of the brethren, yet would not buy it themſelves; but had it laid at their feet, to be diſtributed to poor proſelytes.

I will add one word more, that, by ſuch a wholeſome law, all the oppreſſions felt by under-

tenants of church leaſes, which are now
the biſhops, would entirely be prevented,
graces and lordſhips conſenting to ha
lands ſold for payment of the nation's de
ſerving only the preſent rent for their ov
tiful and honourable ſupport.

I beg leave to add one particular: Tha
heads of a bill (as I find the ſtyle run
kingdom) ſhall be brought in, for form
propoſal into a law, I ſhould humbly of
there might be a power given to every
except thoſe who reſide in Dublin, for
one hundred acres of profitable land,
neareſt his palace, as a demeſne for th
nience of his family.

I know very well, that this ſcheme ha
much talked of for ſome time paſt, and
thoughts of many patriots: neither was
perly mine; although I fell readily into i
it was firſt communicated to me.

Although I am almoſt a perfect ſtrange
kingdom; yet, ſince I have accepted an
ment here of ſome conſequence, as well a
I cannot but think myſelf in duty bound
ſult the intereſt of people, among whon
been ſo well received. And, if I can be
inſtrumental towards contributing to rec
excellent propoſal into a law, (which, b
in the leaſt injurious to England, will, I
fident, meet with no oppoſition from t
my ſincere endeavours to ſerve this chu
kingdom, will be well rewarded.

AN EXAMINATION

OF

Certain ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS, and ENORMITIES, in the city of DUBLIN.

Written in the year 1732.

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great cities, eſpecially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the *police:* by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many diſorders occaſioned by great numbers of people and carriages, eſpecially through narrow ſtreets. In this government, our famous city of Dublin is ſaid to be very defective, and univerſally complained of. Many wholeſome laws have been enacted to correct thoſe abuſes, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting, which I hope the united wiſdom of the nation (whereof ſo many good effects have already appeared this ſeſſion) will ſoon take into their profound conſideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly for that of our renowned city, where (*abſit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my firſt breath; I cannot have a minute's eaſe or patience to forbear enumerating ſome of the greateſt enormities, abuſes, and corruptions ſpread almoſt through every part of Dublin; and propoſing ſuch remedies, as I hope the legiſlature will approve of.

The

The narrow compaſs, to which I have co myſelf in this paper, will allow me only to the moſt important defects; and ſuch as I ſeem to require the moſt ſpeedy redreſs.

And firſt: Perhaps there was never kn wiſer inſtitution, than that of allowing c perſons of both ſexes in large and populous to cry through the ſtreets many neceſſaries c it would be endleſs to recount the conveni which our city enjoys by this uſeful inve and particularly ſtrangers forced hither by neſs, who reſide here but a ſhort time: for having uſually but little money, and being ly ignorant of the town, might at an eaſ purchaſe a tolerable dinner, if the ſeveral would pronounce the names of the goods have to ſell in any tolerable language. therefore, until our law-makers ſhall think per to interpoſe ſo far, as to make thoſe t pronounce their words in ſuch terms, that chriſtian hearer may comprehend what is I would adviſe all new comers to look out a garret windows, and there ſee whether the that is cried be *tripes*, or *flummery*, *butter-m cow-heels*. For as things are now managed is it poſſible for an honeſt country man ju rived, to find out what is meant, for inſtan the following words, with which his ears ar ſtantly ſtunned twice a day, *muggs*, *jugs porringers*, *up in the garret*, *and down in t lar*; I ſay, how is it poſſible for any ſtran underſtand, that this jargon is meant as an

tation to buy a farthing's worth of milk for his breakfaſt or ſupper, unleſs his curioſity draws him to the window, or until his landlady ſhall inform him? I produce this only as one inſtance among a hundred much worſe, I mean, where the words make a ſound wholly inarticulate, which give ſo much diſturbance, and ſo little information.

The affirmation ſolemnly made in the cry of *herrings* is directly againſt all truth and probability; *herrings alive, alive here;* the very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary ſpeech, than to ſay of ſome neighbour for whom the paſſing-bell rings, that *he is dead as a herring.* And pray how is it poſſible, that a *herring*, which, as *philoſophers* obſerve, cannot live longer than one minute three ſeconds and a half out of water, ſhould bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be toſſed into twenty hands, and preſerve its life in ſieves for ſeveral hours? nay, we have witneſſes ready to produce, that many thouſands of theſe *herrings*, ſo impudently aſſerted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worſt. What can we think of thoſe impious wretches, who dare in the face of the ſun vouch the very ſame affirmative of their *ſalmon*, and cry *ſalmon alive, alive;* whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, ſhe is not aſhamed to turn back her mantle, and ſhew you this individual *ſalmon* cut into a dozen pieces. I have given good advice to theſe infamous diſgracers of their ſex and calling, without the leaſt appearance of remorſe,

and

and fully againſt the conviction of their own conſciences; I have mentioned this grievance to ſeveral of our pariſh miniſters; but all in vain; ſo that it muſt continue, until the government ſhall think fit to interpoſe.

There is another *cry*, which from the ſtricteſt obſervation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is that of * *ſweet hearts*; and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female ſex; as if there were at preſent ſo great a dearth of lovers, that the women, inſtead of receiving preſents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchaſe *ſweet hearts*. Neither am I ſure, that this *cry* doth not glance at ſome diſaffection againſt the government; inſinuating, that while ſo many of our troops are engaged in foreign ſervice, and ſuch a great number of our gallant officers conſtantly reſide in England, the ladies are forced to take up with *parſons and attornies*; but this is a moſt unjuſt reflection, as may ſoon be proved by any perſon that frequents the *caſtle*, our public walks, our balls and aſſemblies; where the crowds of † *taupees* were never known to ſwarm as they do at preſent.

There is a cry peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been uſed in London; or at leaſt, not in the ſame terms that it hath been practiſed by both parties, during each of their power, but very unjuſtly by the *tories*. While theſe

* A ſort of ſugar cakes in the ſhape of hearts.

† A new name of a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in faſhion, Dec. 1. 1733.

theſe were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true *whigs* and *Hanoverians* out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows with large baſkets on their ſhoulders to call aloud at every houſe, *dirt to carry out*; giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would ſignify, that the kingdom could never be *cleanſed*, until we were *ſwept* from the earth like *rubbiſh*. But ſince that happy turn of times, when we were ſo *miraculouſly* preſerved by juſt an *inch* from *popery*, *ſlavery*, *maſſacre*, and the *pretender*, I muſt own it is prudence in us ſtill to go on with the ſame *cry*; which hath ever ſince been ſo effectually obſerved, that the true *political dirt* is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities: Every perſon, who walks the ſtreets, muſt needs obſerve an immenſe number of human excrements at the doors and ſteps of waſte houſes, and at the ſides of every dead wall; for which the diſaffected party hath aſſigned a very falſe and malicious cauſe: they would have it, that theſe heaps were laid there privately by Britiſh *fundaments* to make the world believe, that our Iriſh vulgar do daily eat and drink; and conſequently, that the clamour of poverty among us muſt be falſe, proceeding only from *Jacobites* and *papiſts*. They would confirm this by pretending to obſerve, that a Britiſh *anus* being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of theſe excrements,

upon

upon a ſtrict view, appearing copple crowned with a point like a cone or pyramid, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter and with leſs continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent phyſician, who is well verſed in ſuch profound ſpeculations; and at my requeſt was pleaſed to make trial with each of his fingers, by thruſting them into the *anus* of ſeveral perſons of both nations, and profeſſed he could find no ſuch difference between them as thoſe ill diſpoſed people alledge. On the contrary, he aſſured me, that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to ſhew how ready the *Jacobites* are to lay hold of any handle to expreſs their malice againſt the government. I had almoſt forgot to add, that my friend the phyſician could, by ſmelling each finger, diſtinguiſh the Hibernian excrement from the Britiſh, and was not above twice miſtaken in an hundred experiments; upon which he intends very ſoon to publiſh a learned diſſertation.

There is a diverſion in this city, which uſually begins among the *butchers*; but is often continued by a ſucceſſion of other people through many ſtreets; it is called the COSSING *of a dog*: and I may juſtly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: A ſtrange dog happens to paſs through a fleſh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice, and the proper tone, *coſs*, *coſs*, ſeveral times. The ſame word is repeated by the people. The dog,

dog, who perfectly underſtands the terms of art, and conſequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people and even his own brother animals purſue: the purſuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight; and ſometimes hardly eſcapes. This our ill wiſhers of the *Jacobite* kind are pleaſed to call a *perſecution*; and affirm, that it always falls upon *dogs* of the *tory* principle. But we can well defend ourſelves, by juſtly alledging, that when they were uppermoſt, they treated our *dogs* full as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended theſe *proceſſions*, although I can very well diſtinguiſh between a *whig* and *tory dog*, yet I never carried my reſentment very far from a *party principle*, except it were againſt certain malicious *dogs*, who moſt diſcovered their enmity againſt us in the *worſt of times* *. And I remember too well, that in the wicked miniſtry of the Earl of Oxford, a large maſtiff of our party being unmercifully *coſſed*, ran without thinking between my legs, as I was coming up Fiſhamble ſtreet; and, as I am of low ſtature, with very ſhort legs, bore me riding backwards down the hill for above two hundred yards: and although I made uſe of his tail for a bridle, holding it faſt with both my hands, and clung my legs as cloſe to his ſides as I could; yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel; where after rowling three or four times over each other, I got

* A cant word uſed by the Whigs for the four laſt years of queen Anne's reign, during the Earl of Oxford's miniſtry.

got up with much ado amidſt the ſhouts and huzzas of a thouſand malicious *Jacobites*. I cannot indeed but gratefully acknowledge, that for this, and many other *ſervices* and *ſufferings* † I have been ſince more than over-paid.

This adventure may perhaps have put me out of love with the diverſion of *coſſing*, which I confeſs myſelf an enemy to, unleſs we could always be ſure of diſtinguiſhing *tory dogs*; whereof great numbers have ſince been ſo prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are now juſtly eſteemed the beſt *worriers* of their former friends.

I am aſſured, and partly know, that all the chimney-ſweepers boys, where members of parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by *our enemies* to ſculk in the tops of chimnies with their heads no higher than will juſt permit them to look round; and at the uſual hours when members are going to the houſe, if they ſee a coach ſtand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call coach, coach, as loud as they can bawl, juſt at the inſtant when the footman begins to give the ſame call. And this is chiefly done on thoſe days, when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous conſequence; for theſe boys are all hired by enemies to the government: and thus by the abſence of a few members for a few minutes, a queſtion may be carried againſt the *true intereſt* of the kingdom, and very probably not without an eye towards the *pretender*.

I have

† See the apology for the Tale of a Tub, Vol. I.

I have not obſerved the wit and fancy of this town ſo much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of ſigns to hang over houſes where punch is to be ſold. The bowl is repreſented full of punch, the ladle ſtands erect in the middle, ſupported ſometimes by one and ſometimes by two animals, whoſe feet reſt upon the edge of the bowl. Theſe animals are ſometimes one black lion, and ſometimes a couple; ſometimes a ſingle eagle, and ſometimes a ſpread one; and we often meet a crow, a ſwan, a bear, or a cock, in the ſame poſture.

Now, I cannot find how any of theſe animals, either ſeparate or in conjunction, are, properly ſpeaking, fit emblems or embelliſhments to advance the ſale of punch. Beſides, it is agreed among *naturaliſts*, that no brute can endure the taſte of ſtrong liquor, except where he hath been uſed to it from his infancy; and conſequently it is againſt all the rules of *hieroglyph* to aſſign thoſe animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For in that caſe, we ought to ſuppoſe, that the hoſt keeps always ready the real bird or beaſt, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his gueſts; which however to my knowledge is not true in fact; not one of thoſe birds being a proper companion for a *chriſtian*, as to aiding and aſſiſting in making the punch. For as they are drawn upon the ſign, they are much more likely to mute, or ſhed their feathers into the liquor. Then as to the bear, he is too terrible, awkward, and ſlovenly a companion to converſe with; nei-

ther are any of them all *handy* enough to fill liquor to the company: I do therefore vehemently ſuſpect a *plot* intended againſt the government by theſe devices. For although the *ſpread eagle* be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may poſſibly be a lawful *proteſtant* ſign; yet I, who am very ſuſpicious of fair outſides in a matter which ſo nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind, that the *pretender's* wife is ſaid to be of German birth; and that many *popiſh* princes in ſo vaſt an extent of land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: beſides, it is plain, that the *ſpread eagle* exhibits to us the perfect figure of a *croſs*; which is a badge of *popery*. Then as to the *cock*, he is well known to repreſent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The *ſwan*, who muſt of neceſſity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engroſs all the treaſures of the Indies to himſelf. The *lion* is indeed the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him in black, is perfect *Jacobitiſm*, and a manifeſt type of thoſe who blacken the actions of the beſt princes. It is not eaſy to diſtinguiſh whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl be a *crow* or a *raven*. It is true, they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; becauſe it is the diſpoſition of a *crow* to pick out the eyes of other creatures; and often even of *chriſtians*, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a deſign to put the

Jacobites

Jacobites in mind of their old practice, firſt to lull us aſleep (which is an emblem of death) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not ſee their dangerous practices againſt the ſtate.

To ſpeak my private opinion: The leaſt offenſive picture in the whole ſet, ſeems to be the *bear*; becauſe he repreſents *urſa major*, or the *great bear*, who preſides over the *north*, where the *reformation* firſt began; and which, next to Britain (including Scotland and the north of Ireland) is the great protector of the *true proteſtant* religion. But however, in thoſe ſigns, where I obſerve the *bear* to be *chained*, I cannot help ſurmiſing a *Jacobite* contrivance; by which theſe traitors hint an earneſt deſire of uſing all *true whigs*, as their predeceſſors did the primitive chriſtians; I mean, to repreſent us as *bears*, and then halloo their *tory-dogs* to beat us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I diſlike in all the ſigns ſet over thoſe houſes that invite us to *punch*. I own, it was a matter that did not need explaining, being ſo very obvious to common underſtanding; yet I know not how it happens, but methinks there ſeems a fatal blindneſs to overſpread our corporal eyes, as well as our intellectual; and I heartily wiſh, I may be found a falſe prophet: for theſe are not bare ſuſpicions, but manifeſt demonſtrations.

Therefore, away with theſe *popiſh Jacobites*, and idolatrous gew-gaws. And I heartily wiſh a law were enacted under ſevere penalties againſt drinking *punch* at all; for nothing is eaſier, than

to prove it a diſaffected liquor: the chief ingredients, which are, *brandy*, *oranges*, and *lemons*, are all ſent us from *popiſh* countries; and nothing remains of *proteſtant* growth, but *ſugar* and *water*. For as to biſcuit, which formerly was held a neceſſary ingredient, and is truly Britiſh, we find it is entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my aſſertion paſt all doubt: I mean, that this liquor is, by one important innovation, grown of ill example, and dangerous conſequence to the public. It is well known, that by the true original inſtitution of making *punch*, left us by captain Ratcliff, the ſharpneſs is only occaſioned by the juice of *lemons*; and ſo continued until after the happy *revolution*. *Oranges*, alas! are a mere innovation, and in a manner *but of yeſterday*. It was the politics of *Jacobites* to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? The thing ſpeaks itſelf. It was cunningly to ſhew their virulence againſt his ſacred majeſty king William *of ever glorious and immortal memory*. But of late (to ſhew how faſt diſloyalty encreaſeth) they came from one to two, and then to three *oranges*; nay, at preſent we often find *punch* made all with *oranges*, and not one ſingle *lemon*. For the *Jacobites*, before the death of that immortal prince, had, by a ſuperſtition, formed a private prayer, that as they *ſqueezed* the *orange*, ſo might that *proteſtant* king be *ſqueezed* to death; according to the known *ſorcery* deſcribed by Virgil;

Limus ut hic dureſcit, et hæc ut cera liqueſcit, &c.

And

And thus the Romans, when they ſacrificed an ox, uſed this kind of prayer: *As I knock down this ox, ſo may'ſt thou, O Jupiter! knock down our enemies.* In like manner, after king William's death, whenever a *Jacobite ſqueezed* an *orange*, he had a mental curſe upon the *glorious memory*, and a hearty wiſh for power to *ſqueeze* all his majeſty's friends to death, as he *ſqueezed* that *orange*, which bore one of his titles, as he was prince of Orange. This I do affirm for truth, many of that faction having confeſſed it to me under an *oath of ſecrecy*, which however I thought it my duty not to keep, when I ſaw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an *impious* ſet of men, who never ſcruple to drink CONFUSION to all *true proteſtants* under the name of *whig?* A moſt unchriſtian and inhuman practice; *which to our great honour and comfort was* never *charged upon us, even by our moſt malicious detractors.*

The ſign of two *angels* hovering in the air, and with their right hand ſupporting a *crown*, is met with in ſeveral parts of this city; and hath often given me great offence: for, whether by the unſkilfulneſs or dangerous principles of the painters (although I have good reaſons to ſuſpect the latter) thoſe *angels* are uſually drawn with ſuch horrid, or indeed rather diabolical *countenances*, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cauſe of triumph to the *Jacobite*, being a moſt infamous reflection upon our able and excellent miniſtry.

I now

I now return to that great enormity of city *cries*; moſt of which we have borrowed from London. I ſhall conſider them only in a *political* view, as they nearly affect the peace and ſafety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels to bring in *popery*, *ſlavery*, and *arbitrary power*, by defeating the *proteſtant* ſucceſſion, and introducing the *pretender*, ought in juſtice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy *revolution*, all perſons who poſſeſſed any employment or office, in church or ſtate, were obliged by act of parliament to take the oaths to king William and queen Mary: and a great number of diſaffected perſons refuſing to take the ſaid oaths, from a pretended ſcruple of conſcience, but really from a ſpirit of *popery* and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the ſwearing to thoſe princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end, they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud ſhrill voices, under pretence of ſelling fiſh, to go through the ſtreets with ſieves on their heads, and cry, *buy my ſoul*, *buy my ſoul*; plainly inſinuating, that all thoſe, who ſwore to king William, were juſt ready to ſell their *ſouls* for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of queen Anne, and, I hear, ſtill continues in London with much offence to all *true proteſtants*; but to our great happineſs, ſeems to be almoſt dropt in Dublin.

But becauſe I altogether contemn the diſpleaſure

ſure and reſentment of *high-flyers*, *tories*, and *Jacobites*, whom I look upon to be *worſe even than profeſt papiſts*, I do here declare, that thoſe evils which I am going to mention, were all brought in upon us in the *worſt of times*, under the late earl of Oxford's adminiſtration, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne's reign. *That wicked miniſter was univerſally known to be a papiſt in his heart* *. *He was of a moſt avaricious nature, and is ſaid to have died worth four millions* ſterl. *beſides his vaſt expence in building, ſtatues, plate, jewels, and other coſtly rarities. He was of a mean obſcure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and ſo illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council table. I forbear to touch on his open, profane, profligate life; becauſe I deſire not to rake into the aſhes of the dead: and therefore, I ſhall obſerve this wiſe maxim,* De mortuis nil niſi bonum.

This flagitious man, in order to compaſs his black deſigns, employed certain wicked inſtruments (which great ſtateſmen are never without) to adapt ſeveral London cries, in ſuch a manner as would beſt anſwer his ends. And, whereas it was, upon good grounds, grievouſly ſuſpected, that all *places* at court were ſold to the higheſt bidder; certain women were employed by his emiſſaries, to carry *fiſh* in baſkets on their heads, and bawl through the ſtreets, *buy my freſh places*. I muſt indeed own, that other women uſed the ſame cry, who were innocent of this wicked deſign,

* The author's meaning is juſt contrary to the literal ſenſe in the character of Lord Oxford. *Hawkeſ.*

ſign, and really ſold fiſh of that denomination, to get an honeſt livelihood; but the reſt, who were in the *ſecret*, although they carried *fiſh* in their ſieves or baſkets, to ſave appearances, yet they had likewiſe a certain ſign, ſomewhat reſembling that of the *free-maſons*, which the purchaſers of *places* knew well enough, and were directed by the women whither they were to reſort and make their purchaſe. And, I remember very well, how oddly it looked, when we obſerved many gentlemen finely dreſſed about the court-end of the town, and as far as York-buildings, where the lord-treaſurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried *buy my freſh places*, and talking to them in the corner of a ſtreet, until they underſtood each other's ſign. But we never could obſerve, that any fiſh was bought.

Some years before the cries laſt mentioned, the duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England, for admitting his eldeſt ſon by the dutcheſs of Orleans' daughter, to ſucceed to the crown, as next heir, upon the *pretender's* being rejected; and that ſon was immediately to turn *proteſtant*. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people diſaffected to the then *illuſtrious*, but now *royal* houſe of Hanover, were in thoſe meaſures. Whereupon another ſet of women were hired by the *Jacobite* leaders, to cry through the whole town, *buy my* Savoys, *dainty* Savoys, *curious* Savoys. But I cannot directly charge the late earl of Oxford with this *conſpiracy*, becauſe he was

not

not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, in my humble opinion, a very offensive sound to every true *protestant*, who is old enough to remember those *dangerous* times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and *Jacobite* earl above mentioned, the secret pernicious design of those in power, was to sell Flanders to France: the consequence of which must have been, the infallible ruin of the States-general, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that universal monarchy, they have so long aimed at; to which the British dominions must, next after Holland, have been compelled to submit, whereby the *protestant* religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after long consultation among the *Jacobite* grandees, with the earl of Oxford at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former: it was therefore again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex: and upon this occasion was first instituted in London that famous cry of FLOUNDERS. But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word *flaunders*, and not *flounders*. For the country, which we now by corruption call Flanders, is, in its true orthography, spelt *flaunders*, as may be obvious to all who read old English books. I say, from hence

hence begun that thundering cry, which hath ever ſince ſtunned the ears of all London, made ſo many children fall into fits, and women miſcarry; *come buy my freſh* flaunders, *curious* flaunders, *charming* flaunders, *alive, alive, ho;* which laſt words can, with no propriety of ſpeech, be applied to fiſh manifeſtly dead, (as I obſerved before in *herrings* and *ſalmon*) but very juſtly to ten provinces, containing many millions of living *Chriſtians*. But the application is ſtill cloſer, when we conſider, that all the people were to be taken like *fiſhes* in a net; and by aſſiſtance of the *pope*, who ſets up to be the *univerſal fiſher of men*, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expreſſion, to be *laid as flat as a flounder*.

I remember, myſelf, a particular crier of *flounders* in London, who arrived at ſo much fame for the loudneſs of his voice, as to have the honour of being mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath diſturbed me many a morning, before he came within fifty doors of my lodging: and although I were not in thoſe days ſo fully apprized of the deſigns, which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet I know not how, by a ſecret impulſe, young as I was, I could not forbear conceiving a ſtrong diſlike againſt the fellow; and often ſaid to myſelf, *This cry ſeems to be forged in the* Jeſuits *ſchool: alas, poor* England! *I am grievouſly miſtaken, if there be not ſome* popiſh *plot at the bottom.* I communicated my thoughts to an intimate friend, who reproached me with being too viſionary in my ſpeculations: but it proved

proved afterwards that I conjectured right. And I have ſince reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thouſand men of as ſtrong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the conſequences might have been, not only to theſe two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by ſelling Flanders to France. And yet theſe cries continue unpuniſhed both in London and Dublin; although, I confeſs, not with equal vehemency or loudneſs; becauſe the reaſon for contriving this deſperate plot, is, to our great felicity, wholly ceaſed.

It is well known, that the majority of the Britiſh houſe of commons, in the laſt years of queen Anne's reign, were, in their hearts, directly oppoſite to the earl of Oxford's pernicious meaſures; which put him under the neceſſity of bribing them with ſalaries. Whereupon he had again recourſe to his old politics. And accordingly his emiſſaries were very buſy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and converſation (as was proved before juſtice * Peyton) to cry that vegetable commonly called *ſellery* through the town. Theſe women differ from the common criers of that herb by ſome private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and ſufficiently talked of; and about the ſame period was the cry of *ſellery* brought over into this kingdom. But ſince there is not, at this preſent, the leaſt occaſion to

* A famous whig juſtice in thoſe times.

ſuſpect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may ſtill be tolerated.

I ſhall mention but one cry more, which hath any reference to politics; but is, indeed, of all others, the moſt inſolent, as well as treaſonable, under our preſent happy eſtabliſhment, I mean that of *turnups*; not of *turnips*, according to the beſt orthography, but abſolutely *turnups*. Although the cry be of an older date than ſome of the preceding enormities; for it began ſoon after the revolution; yet was it never known to arrive at ſo great a height, as during the earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myſelf, to profeſs their diſapprobation of this cry, on pretence, that it began by the contrivance of certain old procureſſes, who kept houſes of ill fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove, by ſome words in the cry; becauſe, after the crier had bawled out *turnups, ho, buy my dainty turnups*, he would ſometimes add the *two* following *verſes*:

Turn up the miſtreſs, and turn up the maid,
Turn up the daughter, and be not afraid.

This, ſay ſome political ſophiſts, plainly ſhews, that there can be nothing farther meant in ſo infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdneſs; which, indeed, ought to be ſeverely puniſhed in all well-regulated governments; yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of ſtate. But, I hope, we are not ſo weak and blind, to be deluded,

ed, at this time of day, with ſuch poor evaſions. I could, if it were proper, demonſtrate the very time when thoſe two verſes were compoſed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr. Swan, ſo well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a *Jacobite* as any in England. Neither could he deny the fact, when he was taxed for it in my preſence, by Sir Henry Dutton Colt, and colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffee-houſe, on the 10th of June 1701. Thus it appears to a demonſtration, that thoſe verſes were only a blind, to conceal the moſt dangerous deſigns of the party; who, from the firſt years after the happy revolution, uſed a cant-way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: *We hope to ſee the cards ſhuffled once more, and another king* TURN UP *trump*: and, *when ſhall we meet over a diſh of* TURNUPS? The ſame term of art was uſed in their plots againſt the government, and in their treaſonable letters written in cyphers, and decyphered by the famous Dr. Willes, as you may read in the trials of thoſe times. This I thought fit to ſet forth at large, and in ſo clear a light; becauſe the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word *turnup*; but whether out of ignorance or partiality, I ſhall not decree; becauſe I am ſure the reader is convinced by my diſcovery. It is to be obſerved, that this cry was ſung in a particular manner, by fellows in diſguiſe, to give notice where thoſe traitors were to meet, in order to concert their villanous deſigns.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble propoſal, that thoſe, who cry this root at preſent in our ſtreets of Dublin, may be compelled by the juſtices of the peace to pronounce *turnip*, and not *turnup*: for, I am afraid, we have ſtill too many ſnakes in our boſom; and it would be well if their cellars were ſometimes ſearched, when the owners leaſt expect it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herba*.

Thus, we are zealous in matters of ſmall moment, while we neglect thoſe of the higheſt importance. I have already made it manifeſt, that all theſe cries were contrived in the *worſt of times*, under the miniſtry of that deſperate ſtateſman, Robert late earl of Oxford; and for that very reaſon, ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of *Jacobites*, and may well be numbered among the rags of *popery* and *treaſon*; or, if it be thought proper that theſe cries muſt continue, ſurely they ought to be only truſted in the hands of *true proteſtants*, who have given ſecurity to the government.

A LETTER

A LETTER from a Member of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, to a Member of the Houſe of Commons in England, concerning the SACRAMENTAL TEST. †

Written in the year 1708.*

SIR,

I Received your letter, wherein you tell me of the ſtrange repreſentations made of us on our ſide of the water. The inſtance you are leaſed to mention, is that of the *preſbyterian miſſionary*,

† In the 1ſt volume of Dr. Swift's and Mr. Pope's Miſcellanies, found the following treatiſe, which had been printed in Lon-n, with ſome other of the Dean's works, many years before, t at firſt came out by itſelf in the year 1708, as the date ews: and it was at a juncture, when the diſſenters were en-avouring to repeal the ſacramental teſt, as, by common fame, d ſome pamphlets publiſhed to the ſame purpoſe, they ſeem be now again attempting, with great hope of ſucceſs. I have erefore taken the liberty to make an extract out of that diſ-urſe, omitting only ſome paſſages, which relate to certain per-s, and are of no conſequence to the argument. But the au-or's way of reaſoning ſeems at preſent to have more weight, an it had in thoſe times, when the diſcourſe firſt appeared.—— ne author, in this letter, perſonates a member of parliament re, to a member of parliament in England.——The ſpeaker, ntioned in this letter, was Allen Broderick, afterwards Chan-lor and Lord Middleton; and the prelate was Dr. Lindſay, erwards Primate.

* This tract was reprinted in Ireland in 1735, when the at-pt to repeal the ſacramental teſt was revived. There was an planatory advertiſement prefixed, which is ſaid by Lord O. re-

sionary, who, according to your phrase, hath been lately *persecuted* at Drogheda for his religion: but it is easy to observe, how mighty industrious some people have been, for three or four years past, to hand about stories of the hardships, the merits, the number and the power of the *presbyterians* in Ireland, to raise formidable ideas of the danger of *popery* there, and to transmit all for England, improved by great additions, and with special care to have them inserted, with comments, in those infamous weekly papers, that infest your coffee-houses. So, when the clause enacting a *sacramental test* was put in execution, it was given out in England, that half the justices of peace through this kingdom had laid down their commissions: whereas, upon examination, the whole number was found to amount only to a dozen or thirteen,

ry to have been dictated, or strictly revised by the Dean himself: but there are inaccuracies in it, which may well be thought sufficient to destroy its authenticity: that which, in the first paragraph, is called the *following treatise*, is afterwards said to be an *extract of a discourse;* and it is immediately added, that this *extract* is the *whole*, except some passages of no consequence: these are included in a parenthesis. *Hawkes.*

Swift held the dissenters in the utmost degree of ridicule and detestation. He had an openness in his disposition, and a frankness in his conduct, that bore an abhorrence to all kind of reserve.——To such a disposition it is impossible that the gravity of nonconformists could be agreeable. The dislike was mutual on both sides. Dr. Swift hated all fanatics: all fanatics hated Dr. Swift. This piece is particularly written against *repealing the test act:* and whoever considers himself related to the kingdom of Ireland, will find in it some arguments of weight and consideration, in case any such repeal should ever be attempted there. *Orrery.*

thirteen, and thoſe generally of the loweſt rate in fortune and underſtanding, and ſome of them ſuperannuated. So, when the earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, and the parliament ſitting, a formal ſtory was very gravely carried to his excellency, by ſome zealous members, of a prieſt newly arrived from abroad to the north-weſt parts of Ireland, who had publicly preached to his people to fall a-murthering the proteſtants; which, though invented to ſerve an end they were then upon, and are ſtill driving at, was preſently handed over, and printed with ſhrewd remarks by your worthy ſcribblers. In like manner, the account of that perſon, who was lately expelled our univerſity for reflecting on the memory of king William; what a duſt it raiſed, and how foully it was related, is freſh enough in memory. Neither would people be convinced, till the univerſity was at the pains of publiſhing a Latin paper to juſtify themſelves. And, to mention no more, this ſtory of the *perſecution* at Drogheda, how it hath been ſpread and aggravated, what conſequences have been drawn from it, and what reproaches fixed on thoſe who have leaſt deſerved them, we are already informed. Now, if the end of all this proceeding were a ſecret and myſtery, I ſhould not pretend to give it an interpretation; but ſufficient care hath been taken to explain it, *firſt*, by addreſſes artificially (if not illegally) procured, to ſhew the miſerable ſtate of the *diſſenters* in Ireland, by reaſon of the *ſacramental teſt*, and to deſire the queen's interceſſion, that it might be

be repealed. *Then*, it is manifeſt, that * our ſpeaker, when he was laſt year in England, ſolicited in perſon ſeveral members of both houſes, to have it repealed by an act there; though it be a matter purely national, that cannot poſſibly interfere with the trade and intereſt of England; and though he himſelf appeared formerly the moſt zealous of all men againſt the injuſtice of binding a nation by laws to which they do not conſent. And, *laſtly*, thoſe weekly libellers, whenever they get a tale by the end relating to Ireland, without once troubling their thoughts about the truth, always end it with an application againſt the *ſacramental teſt*, and the abſolute neceſſity there is of repealing it in both kingdoms. I know it may be reckoned a weakneſs to ſay any thing of ſuch trifles, as are below a ſerious man's notice; much leſs would I diſparage the underſtanding of any party, to think they would chooſe the vileſt and moſt ignorant among mankind, to employ them for the aſſertors of a cauſe. I ſhall only ſay, that the ſcandalous liberty thoſe wretches take, would hardly be allowed, if it were not mingled with opinions that *ſome men* would be glad to advance. Beſides, how inſipid ſoever thoſe papers are, they ſeem to be levelled to the underſtandings of a great number; they are grown a neceſſary part in coffee-houſe furniture, and, ſome time or other, may happen to be read by cuſtomers of all ranks, for curioſity and amuſement,

* Mr. Allan Brodrick, afterwards chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Middleton.

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be

Drogheda, wherein our excellent *primate* was engaged, and did nothing but according to law and diſcretion. But becauſe the Lord Archbiſhop ‖ of Dublin hath been, upon ſeveral occaſions, of late years, miſrepreſented in England, I would willingly ſet you right in his character. For his great ſufferings and eminent ſervices, he was by the late king promoted to the ſee of Derry. About the ſame time he wrote a book to juſtify the revolution, wherein was an account of king James's proceedings in Ireland; and the late archbiſhop Tillotſon recommended it to the king, as the moſt ſerviceable treatiſe that could have been publiſhed at ſuch a juncture. And as his grace ſet out upon thoſe principles, he has proceeded ſo ever ſince, as a loyal ſubject to the queen, entirely for the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and for ever excluding the *pretender*; and though a firm friend to the church, yet with indulgence towards diſſenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was ſettled for many years among the moſt virulent of the ſect; yet upon his removal to Dublin, they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and univerſal acknowledgments of his wiſdom and goodneſs. For the reſt, it muſt be owned, he does not buſy himſelf by entering deep into any party, but rather ſpends his time in acts of hoſpitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthieſt perſons he can find, without other regards: in ſhort, in the practice

‖ Dr. William King.

ſtice of all virtues, that can become a public
rivate life. This and more, if poſſible, is
to ſo excellent a perſon, who may be juſtly
oned among the greateſt and moſt learned
ates of this age, however his character may be
led by ſuch mean and dirty hands as thoſe of
obſervator, or ſuch as employ him.]

now come to anſwer the other part of your
r, and ſhall give you my opinion freely about
aling the *ſacramental teſt*: only, whereas you
re my thoughts as a friend, and not as I am
ember of parliament, I muſt aſſure you they
exactly the ſame in both capacities.

muſt begin by telling you, we are generally
riſed at your wonderful kindneſs to us on this
ſion, in being ſo very induſtrious to teach us
e our intereſt in a point where we are ſo un-
to ſee it ourſelves. This hath given us ſome
icion; and though in my own particular,
a hugely bent to believe, that whenever you
ern yourſelves in our affairs, it is certainly
ur good, yet I have the misfortune to be ſome-
g ſingular in this belief, and therefore I never
mpt to juſtify it, but content myſelf to poſſeſs
own opinion in private, for fear of encoun-
g men of more wit or words, than I have to
e.

Ve at this diſtance, who ſee nothing of the
ng of actions, are forced, by mere conjecture,
ſſign two reaſons for your deſiring us to re-
the *ſacramental teſt*: one is, becauſe you are
ſaid

I do not frequently quote poets, Engliſh: but I remember there is in Mr. Cowley's love verſes, a ſtrain, that extraordinary at fifteen, and have often fi gined it to be ſpoken by Ireland,

Forbid it, heaven, my life ſhould be
Weigh'd with her leaſt conveniency.

In ſhort, whatever advantage you p yourſelves, by repealing the *ſacramental* it out plainly; it is the beſt argument uſe; for we value your intereſt much n our own: if your little finger be ſore, think a poultice made of our *vitals* wi any eaſe, ſpeak the word, and it ſhall the intereſt of our whole kingdom is at ready to ſtrike to that of your poore *towns:* it is hard you will not accept vices, unleſs we believe, at the ſame ti that you are only conſulting our profit,

y humble thanks for the favour you have done
e?

If we might be allowed to judge for ourſelves,
e had abundance of benefit by the *ſacramental*
ſt, and foreſee a number of miſchiefs would be
ıe conſequence of repealing it; and we conceive
ıe objections made againſt it by the *diſſenters* are
f no manner of force. They tell us of their me-
ts in the late war in Ireland, and how chearful-
r they engaged for the ſafety of the nation;
ıat if they had thought they had been fighting
nly other people's quarrels, perhaps it might have
ooled their zeal; and that, for the future, they
ıall ſit down quietly, and let us do our work
urſelves; nay, that it is neceſſary they ſhould do
), ſince they cannot take up arms, under the pe-
alty of high treaſon.

Now, ſuppoſing them to have done their duty,
s I believe they did, and not to trouble them a-
out the **fly on the wheel*, I thought *liberty*, *pro-*
erty, and *religion*, had been the three ſubjects of
ıe quarrel; and have not all theſe been amply
ecured to them? had they, at that time, a *men-*
al reſervation for *power* and *employments?* and,
ıuſt theſe two articles be added henceforward in
ur national quarrels? It is grown a mighty
onceit among ſome men, to melt down the
hraſe of a *church eſtabliſhed by law*, into that of

* Alluding to the fable of a fly, who having ſettled on the ſpoke
a wheel belonging to a chariot that was driven rapidly along
e road, exulted in his own importance, and cried out, "*What*
a duſt we raiſe!"

the *religion of the magiſtrate;* of which appellation, it is eaſier to find the reaſon than the ſenſe: if by the *magiſtrate* they mean the *prince*, [the expreſſion includes a falſhood; for, when king James was *prince*] the eſtabliſhed church was the ſame it is now. If, by the ſame word, they mean the legiſlature, we deſire no more. Be that as it will, we of this kingdom believe the church of Ireland to be the national church, and the only one eſtabliſhed by law, and are willing, by the ſame law to give a *toleration* to diſſenters; but if once we repeal our *ſacramental teſt*, and grant a *toleration*, or ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws, I do not ſee how we can be ſaid to have any eſtabliſhed church remaining; or rather, why there will not be as many eſtabliſhed churches, as there are ſects of diſſenters. No, ſay they, yours will ſtill be the national church, becauſe your biſhops and clergy are maintained by the public: but *that*, I ſuppoſe, will be of no long duration; and it would be very unjuſt it ſhould; becauſe, to ſpeak in Tindal's phraſe, it is not reaſonable, that revenues ſhould be annexed to one opinion more than another, when all are equally lawful; and it is the ſame author's maxim, that no free-born ſubject ought to pay for maintaining ſpeculations he does not believe. *But why ſhould any man, upon account of opinions he cannot help, be deprived the opportunity of ſerving his queen and country!* their zeal is commendable; and when employments go a-begging for want of hands, they ſhall be ſure to have the refuſal, only upon condition

ion they will not pretend to them upon maxims, hich equally include *Atheiſts*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Infidels*, and *Heretics*; or, which is ſtill more dangerous, even *papiſts* themſelves: the former you llow, the other you deny; becauſe theſe laſt own foreign power, and therefore muſt be ſhut out. ut there is no great weight in this; for their religion can ſuit with free ſtates, with limited or bſolute monarchies, as well as a better; and the ope's power in France is but a ſhadow; ſo that, pon this foot, there need be no great danger to he conſtitution, by admitting *papiſts* to employments. I will help you to know of them ſhall e ready to allow the *pope* as little power here as ou pleaſe; and the bare opinion of his being vicar of Chriſt, is but a *ſpeculative point*, for which o man, it ſeems, ought to be deprived the capacity of ſerving his country.

But, if you pleaſe, I will tell you the great objection we have againſt repealing this ſame *ſacramental teſt*. It is, that we are verily perſuaded, he conſequence will be, an entire alteration of eligion among us, in no great compaſs of years. And pray, obſerve how we reaſon here in Ireland upon this matter.

We obſerve the Scots in our northern parts to be a brave induſtrious people, extremely devoted to their religion, and full of an *undiſturbed* affection towards each other. Numbers of that noble nation, invited by the fertilities of the ſoil, are glad to exchange their barren hills of Lochaber, by a voyage of three hours, for our fruitful vales

of Down and Antrim, ſo productive of that *grain*, which, at little trouble, and leſs expence, finds diet and lodging for themſelves and their cattle. Theſe people, by their extreme parſimony, wonderful *dexterity in dealing*, and firm adherence to one another, ſoon grow into wealth from the *ſmalleſt beginnings*, never are rooted out where they once fix, and increaſe daily by new ſupplies: beſides, when they are the ſuperior number in any tract of ground, they are not *over patient of mixture;* but ſuch, whom they cannot *aſſimilate*, ſoon find it their intereſt to remove. I have done all in my power, on ſome land of my own, to preſerve two or three Engliſh fellows in their neighbourhood, but found it impoſſible, though one of them thought he had ſufficiently made his court, by turning preſbyterian. Add to this, that they bring along with them from Scotland a moſt formidable notion of our church, which they look upon at leaſt three degrees worſe than popery: and it is natural it ſhould be ſo, ſince they come over full fraught with that ſpirit, which taught them to aboliſh epiſcopacy at home.

Then we proceed farther, and obſerve, that the gentlemen of employments here make a very conſiderable number in the houſe of commons, and have no *other merit*, but that of doing their duty in their ſeveral ſtations; therefore when the teſt is repealed, it will be highly reaſonable they ſhould give place to thoſe, who have much *greater ſervices* to plead. The commiſſions of the revenue are ſoon diſpoſed of; and the collectors

and

nd other officers throughout the kingdom are enerally appointed by the commiſſioners, which ives them a mighty influence in every county. ıs much may be ſaid of the great offices in the ıw; and when this door is open to let diſſenters ıto the commiſſions of the peace, to make ıem high-ſheriffs, mayors of corporations, and fficers of the army and militia, I do not ſee how : can be otherwiſe, conſidering their induſtry nd our ſupineneſs, but that they may, in a very ew years, grow to a majority in the houſe of ommons, and conſequently make themſelves the ational religion, and have a fair pretence to deıand the revenues of the church for their teachrs. I know it will be objected, that if all this ıould happen as I deſcribe, yet the preſbyterian eligion could never be made the national by act f parliament, becauſe our biſhops are ſo great ı number in the houſe of lords; and without a ıajority there, the church could not be aboliſhd. But I have *two very good expedients* for that, 'hich I ſhall leave you to gueſs, and I dare wear our ſpeaker here has often thought on, ſpecially having endeavoured at *one of them* ſo ıtely. To convince you, that this deſign is not) foreign from *ſome people's* thoughts, I muſt let ou know, that an honeſt *bell weather* * of our ouſe (you have him now in England, I wiſh ou could keep him there) had the impudence)me years ago, in parliament-time, to ſhake my

* Suppoſed to be Mr. Broderick.

lord biſhop of Kilaloo † by his lawn-ſleeve, and tell him, in a threatening manner, *that he hoped to live to ſee the day, when there ſhould not be one of his order in the kingdom.*

Theſe laſt lines perhaps you think a digreſſion: therefore, to return, I have told you the conſequences we fully reckon upon from repealing the *ſacramental teſt*; which, although the greateſt number of ſuch as are for doing it, are actually in no manner of pain about it, and many of them care not three-pence whether there be any *church*, or no; yet becauſe they pretend to argue from conſcience, as well as policy and intereſt, I thought it proper to underſtand and anſwer them accordingly.

Now, Sir, in anſwer to your queſtion, whether, if any attempt ſhould be made here for repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, it would be likely to ſucceed? The number of profeſſed diſſenters in this parliament was, as I remember, ſomething under a dozen; and I cannot call to mind above thirty others, who were expected to fall in with them. This is certain, that the preſbyterian party having with great induſtry muſtered up their forces, did endeavour one day, upon occaſion of a hint in my lord ‡ Pembroke's ſpeech, to introduce a debate about repealing the *teſt clauſe*, when there appeared at leaſt four to one odds againſt them; and the ableſt of thoſe, who were reckoned the moſt ſtanch and thorough-paced *whigs* upon all other occaſions,

† Dr. Lindſay, afterwards lord primate.

‡ Then lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

casions, fell off with an abhorrence at the first mention of this.

I must desire you to take notice, that the terms *whig* and *tory* do not properly express the different interests in our parliament. [I remember, when I was last in England, I told the king, that the highest tories we had with us would make tolerable whigs there: this was certainly right, and still in the general continues so, unless you have since admitted new characteristics, which did not come within our definition.] Whoever bears a true veneration for the glorious memory of King William, as our great deliverer from popery and slavery; whoever is firmly loyal to our present queen, with an utter abhorrence and detestation of the pretender; whoever approves the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover, and is for preserving the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, with an *indulgence* for scrupulous consciences; such a man we think acts upon right principles, and may be justly allowed a *whig*: and I believe there are not six members in our house of commons, who may not fairly come under this description. So that the parties among us are made up on one side of *moderate whigs*, and on the other of *presbyterians* and their *abettors*; by which last, I mean such, who can equally go to a *church* or *conventicle*, or such who are indifferent to all religion in general; or lastly, such who affect to bear a personal rancour towards the clergy: these last are a set of men not of our own growth; their principles at least have been

been *imported* of late years: yet this whole party put together, will ſcarce, I am confident, amount to above fifty men in parliament, which can hardly be worked up into a majority of three hundred.

As to the houſe of lords, the difficulty there, is conceived at leaſt as great as in ours. So many of our temporal peers live in England, that the biſhops are generally pretty near a *par* of the houſe, and we reckon they will be all to a man againſt repealing the *teſt*; and yet their lordſhips are generally thought as good whigs upon our principles as any in the kingdom. There are indeed a few lay-lords, who appear to have no great devotion for epiſcopacy; and perhaps one or two more, with whom *certain powerful motives* might be uſed for removing any difficulty whatſoever: but theſe are, in no ſort, a number to carry any point againſt a conjunction of the reſt and the whole bench of biſhops.

Beſides, the whole body of our clergy is utterly againſt repealing the *teſt*, though they are entirely devoted to her majeſty, and hardly one in an hundred, who are not very good *whigs* in our acceptation of the word. And I muſt let you know, that we of Ireland are not yet come up to *other folks refinements*; for we generally love and eſteem our clergy, and think they deſerve it; nay, we are apt to lay ſome weight upon their opinion, and would not willingly diſoblige them, at leaſt, unleſs it were upon ſome greater point of intereſt than this. And their judgment in the preſent affair

affair is the more to be regarded, becauſe they are the laſt perſons, who will be affected by it: this makes us think them impartial, and that their concern is only for religion and the intereſt of the kingdom: becauſe the act, which repeals the *teſt*, will only qualify a *layman* for an employment, but not a *preſbyterian* or *anabaptiſt* preacher for a church living. Now I muſt take leave to inform you, that ſeveral members of our houſe, and myſelf among the reſt, knowing ſome time ago what was upon the anvil, went to all the clergy we knew of any diſtinction, and deſired their judgment in the matter; wherein we found a moſt wonderful agreement, there being but *one divine* that we could hear of in the whole kingdom, who appeared of a contrary ſentiment, wherein he afterwards ſtood alone in the *convocation*, very little to his *credit*, though, as he hoped, very much to his *intereſt*.

I will now conſider a little the arguments offered to ſhew the advantages, or rather the neceſſity of repealing the *teſt* in Ireland. We are told, the popiſh intereſt is here ſo formidable, that all hands ſhould be joined to keep it under; that the only names of diſtinction among us ought to be thoſe of *proteſtant* and *papiſt*; and that this expedient is the only means to *unite* all proteſtants upon one common bottom. All which is nothing but miſrepreſentation and miſtake.

If we were under any real fear of the papiſts in this kingdom, it would be hard to think us ſo ſtupid, as not to be equally apprehenſive with

others,

others, since we are likely to be the greatest, and more immediate sufferers: but, on the contrary, we look upon them to be altogether as inconsiderable as the women and children. Their lands are almost entirely taken from them, and they are rendered incapable of purchasing any more: and for the little that remains, provision is made by the late act against popery, that it will daily crumble away; to prevent which, some of the most considerable among them are already turned protestants, and so in all probability will many more. Then, the popish priests are all registered, and without permission (which I hope will not be granted) they can have no successors; so that the protestant clergy will find it perhaps no difficult matter to bring great numbers over to the church; and in the mean time the common people, without leaders, without discipline, or natural courage, being little better than *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*, are out of all capacity of doing any mischief, if they were ever so well inclined. Neither are they at all likely to join in any considerable numbers with an *invader*, having found so ill success when they were much more numerous and powerful; when they had a prince of their own religion to head them *, had been trained for some years under a *popish deputy*, and received such mighty aids from the French king.

As to that argument used for repealing the *test*, that it will unite all protestants against the *common*

* In the reign of king James II. and till after the battle of the Boyne in 1690.

enemy; I wonder by what figure thoſe gentle-
n ſpeak, who are pleaſed to advance it. Sup-
e, in order to encreaſe the friendſhip between
and me, a law ſhould paſs, that I muſt have
your eſtate: do you think that would much
ance the union between us? or ſuppoſe I ſhare
fortune equally between my own *children* and
anger, whom I take into my protection; will
be a method to unite them? it is an odd
of uniting parties, to deprive a *majority* of
of their antient right, by conferring it on a
ion, who had never any right at all, and there-
cannot be ſaid to ſuffer any loſs or injury, if
refuſed them. Neither is it very clear, how
ſome people may ſtretch the term of *common*
ty. How many are there of thoſe that call
mſelves proteſtants, who look upon our wor-
to be idolatrous as well as that of the papiſts,
with great charity put *prelacy* and *popery* toge-
as terms convertible?

And therefore there is one ſmall doubt I would
willingly ſatisfied in, before I agree to the re-
ling of the *teſt*; that is, whether theſe ſame
eſtants, when they have by their dexterity
le themſelves the national religion, and diſ-
d the church revenues among their *paſtors* or
ſelves, will be ſo kind to allow *us diſſenters*,
not ſay a ſhare in employments, but a bare
ation by law? The reaſon of my doubt is, be-
e I have been ſo very idle as to read above
pamphlets written by as many preſbyterian
nes, loudly diſclaiming this idol *toleration*,
ſome

ſome of them calling it (I know not how
ly) a *rag of popery*, and all agreeing it was
bliſh iniquity by a law. Now I would be
know, when and where *their ſucceſſors* h
nounced this doctrine, and before what wi
Becauſe, methinks I ſhould be loath to
poor titular biſhop *in partibus* ſeized on
take in the dark for a jeſuit, or be forced
to keep a chaplain diſguiſed like my butle
ſteal to prayers in a back room, as my g
ther uſed in thoſe times, when the chu
England was *malignant*.

But this is ripping up old quarrels lon
got; popery is now the *common enemy*,
which we muſt all unite: I have been t
hiſtory with the perpetual folly of thoſe
who call in foreigners to aſſiſt them ag
common enemy: but the miſchief was, the
would never be brought to allow, that th
mon enemy was quite ſubdued. And th
reaſon; for it proved at laſt, that one part
common enemy was thoſe who called th
and ſo the *allies* became at length the *maſt*

It is agreed among naturaliſts, that a
larger, a ſtronger, and more dangerous
than a *cat*; yet if a man were to have his
either a *lion* at his foot, bound faſt with t
four chains, his teeth drawn out, and hi
pared to the quick, or an angry *cat* in ful
ty at his throat; he would take no long
determine.

I have been ſometimes admiring the wo
ſigni

gnificancy of that word *perſecution*, and what arious interpretations it hath acquired even ithin my memory. When I was a boy, I often eard the preſbyterians complain, that they were ot permitted to ſerve God in their own way; hey ſaid they did not repine at our employ-ents, but thought that all men who live peace-bly, ought to have liberty of conſcience, and ave to aſſemble. That impediment being re-oved at the revolution, they ſoon learned to wallow the *ſacramental teſt*, and began to take ery large ſteps, wherein all who offered to op-oſe them, were called men of a *perſecuting ſpirit*. During the time the bill againſt occaſional con-ormity was on foot, *perſecution* was every day ung in our ears, and now at laſt the *ſacramental ſt* itſelf has the ſame name. Where then is is matter likely to end, when the obtaining of ne requeſt is only uſed as a ſtep to demand ano-ier? A lover is ever complaining of *cruelty*, hile any thing is denied him; and when the dy ceaſes to be *cruel*, ſhe is from the next mo-ent at his mercy: ſo *perſecution*, it ſeems, is very thing, that will not leave it in mens power *perſecute others*.

There is one argument offered againſt a *ſacra-mental teſt* by a ſort of men, who are content to ſtiled of the church of England, who perhaps tend its ſervice in the morning, and go with eir wives to a *conventicle* in the afternoon, con-ſſing they hear very good doctrine in both. heſe men are much offended, that ſo holy an

inſtitution, as that of the Lord's Supper, be made ſubſervient to ſuch mercenary] as the getting of an employment. Now i the law, concluding all men to be mer that church where they receive the ſacı and ſuppoſing all men to live like chriſtiar cially thoſe who are to have employme imagine they received the ſacrament in c bout four times a-year; and therefore on ed it might appear by certificate to the that ſuch, who took an office, were mer the church eſtabliſhed, by doing their (duty. However, *leſt we ſhould offend th* have often deſired they would deal candi us: for if the matter ſtuck only there, w propoſe it in parliament, that every ma takes an employment, ſhould, inſtead of ing the ſacrament, be obliged to ſwear, th a member of the church of Ireland by l bliſhed, with epiſcopacy, *and ſo forth;* they do now in Scotland, *to be true to* But when we drive them thus far, they retire to the main body of the argumen the hardſhip, that men ſhould be deprive berty of ſerving their queen and country count of their conſcience: and, in ſhort, l courſe to the common ſtile of their half-b Now, whether this be a ſincere way of ar will appeal to any other judgment but th

There is another topic of clamour, ſo parallel to the foregoing. It ſeems, by t clauſe, the *military* officers are obliged to

the ſacrament, as well as the *civil*. And it is a matter of ſome patience, to hear the diſſenters declaiming upon this occaſion: they cry they are *diſarmed*, they are uſed like papiſts: when an enemy appears at home, or from abroad, they muſt ſit ſtill, and ſee their throats cut, or be hanged for high-treaſon if they offer to defend themſelves. Miſerable condition! woful dilemma! It is happy for us all, that the pretender was not appriſed of this *paſſive preſbyterian* principle, elſe he would have infallibly landed in our *northern* parts, and found them all ſat down in their formalities, as the Gauls did the Roman ſenators, ready to die with honour in their callings. Sometimes, to appeaſe their indignation, we venture to give them hopes, that in ſuch a caſe the government will perhaps connive, and hardly be ſo ſevere to hang them for defending it againſt the letter of the law; to which they readily anſwer, that they will not lie at our mercy, but let us fight our battles ourſelves. Sometimes we offer to get an act, by which, upon all *popiſh* inſurrections at home, or *popiſh* invaſions from abroad, the government ſhall be impowered to grant commiſſions to all proteſtants whatſoever, without that *perſecuting* circumſtance of obliging them to *ſay their prayers* when they receive the ſacrament: but they abhor all thoughts of *occaſional* commiſſions; they will not do our drudgery, and we reap the benefit: it is not worth their while to fight *pro aris et focis*; and they had rather loſe

their eſtates, liberties, religion, and lives, than the pleaſure of *governing*.

But to bring this diſcourſe towards a concluſion. If the diſſenters will be ſatisfied with ſuch a *toleration* by law, as hath been granted them in England, I believe the majority of both houſes will fall readily in with it; farther it will be hard to perſuade this houſe of commons, and perhaps much harder the next. For, to ſay the truth, we make a mighty difference here, between ſuffering *thiſtles* to grow among us, and wearing them for *poſies*. We are fully convinced in our conſciences, that *we* ſhall always *tolerate them*; but not quite ſo fully, that *they* will always *tolerate us*, when it comes to their turn; and *we* are the majority, and *we* are in poſſeſſion.

He who argues in defence of a law in force, not antiquated or obſolete, but lately enacted, is certainly on the ſafer ſide, and may be allowed to point out the dangers he conceives to foreſee in the abrogation of it.

For, if the conſequences of repealing this clauſe ſhould at ſome time or other enable the preſbyterians to work themſelves up into the national church; inſtead of *uniting* proteſtants, it would ſow eternal diviſions among them. First, their own ſects, which now lie dormant, would be ſoon at cuffs *again* with each other about power and preferment; and the *diſſenting epiſcopals*, perhaps diſcontented to ſuch a degree, as, upon ſome *fair unhappy* occaſion, would be able to ſhake the firmeſt loyalty, which none can deny theirs to be.

Neither

Neither is it very difficult to conjecture, from ſome late proceedings, at what a rate this *faction* is like to drive, where-ever it gets the *whip* and the *ſeat*. They have already ſet up courts of ſpiritual judicature in open contempt of the laws: they ſend *miſſionaries* every where, without being invited, in order to convert the *church of* England folks to *chriſtianity*. They are as vigilant as *I know who*, to attend perſons on their deathbeds, and for purpoſes much alike. And what practices ſuch principles as theſe (with many other that might be invidious to mention) may ſpawn, when they are *laid out to the ſun*, you may determine at leiſure.

Laſtly, Whether we are ſo entirely ſure of their loyalty upon the preſent foot of government as you may imagine, their detractors make a queſtion, which however does, I think, by no means affect the body of diſſenters: but the inſtance produced, is of ſome among their leading teachers in the north, who having refuſed the *abjuration oath*, yet continue their preaching, and have abundance of followers. The particulars are out of my head; but the fact is notorious enough, and, I believe, hath been publiſhed; I think it a pity, it hath not been *remedied*.

Thus I have fairly given you, Sir, my own opinion, as well as that of a great majority in both houſes here, relating to this weighty affair; upon which I am confident you may ſecurely reckon. I will leave you to make what uſe of it you pleaſe.

I am with great reſpect, SIR, Your, &c.

Dublin, Dec. 4. 1708.

Some ARGUMENTS againſt enlarging the power of BISHOPS in letting of LEASES *.

Mihi credite, major hæreditas venit unicuique veſtrum in iiſdem bonis a jure et a legibus, quam ab iis a quibus illa ipſa bona relicta ſunt. Cicero pro A. Cæcina.

Written in the year 1725.

IN handling this ſubject, I ſhall proceed wholly upon this ſuppoſition, that thoſe of *our party*, who profeſs themſelves members of the church eſtabliſhed, and under the apoſtolical government of biſhops, do deſire the continuance and tranſmiſſion of it to poſterity, at leaſt in as good a condition as it is at preſent: becauſe, as this diſcourſe is not calculated for diſſenters of any kind, ſo neither will it ſuit the talk or ſentiments of thoſe perſons, who, with the denomination of churchmen, are oppreſſors of the inferior clergy, and perpetually quarrelling at the great incomes of the biſhops; which is a traditional cant delivered

* This pamphlet is interſperſed with thoſe maſterly ſtrokes of irony, which are ſo often intermixed in Swift's works. The general ſubject of it leads me to recollect a circumſtance much to the Dean's honour; he could never be induced to take fines for any of the chapter lands; he always choſe to raiſe the rents, as the method leaſt oppreſſive to the preſent tenant, and moſt advantageous to all future tenants and landlords. He conſtantly refuſed to give charity out of the chapter-funds, which he alledged were ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the neceſſary repairs of the cathedral. *Orrery.*

ed down from former times, and continued great reaſon, although it be now near 200 ſince almoſt three parts in four of the ch revenues have been taken from the clergy, es the ſpoils that have been gradually made ſince of glebes and other lands by the con- n of times, the fraud of encroaching neigh-, or the power of oppreſſors too great to be untered.

bout the time of the reformation, many *popiſh* ps of this kingdom, knowing they muſt have ſoon ejected, if they would not change their ion, made long leaſes and fee-farms of great of their lands, reſerving very inconſiderable , ſometimes only a chiefry, by a power they ied, directly contrary to many ancient ca- , yet conſiſtent enough with the common This trade held on for many years after biſhops became proteſtants; and ſome of names are ſtill remembered with infamy, on nt of enriching their families by ſuch ſacri- us alienations. By theſe means, epiſcopal re- es were ſo low reduced, that three or four were often united, to make a tolerable com- cy. For ſome remedy to this evil, king s I. by a bounty that became a good Chri- prince, beſtowed ſeveral forfeited lands on *orthern* biſhoprics: but in all other parts of ingdom, the church continued ſtill in the diſtreſs and poverty; ſome of the ſees hard- ſufficing enough to maintain a country vicar. t the middle of king Charles IIſt's reign, the legiſlature

legiſlature here thought fit to put a ſtop at leaſt to any farther alienations; and ſo a law was enacted, prohibiting all biſhops and other eccleſiaſtical corporations from ſetting their lands for above the term of twenty-one years; the rent reſerved to be one half of the real value of ſuch lands, at the time they were ſet, without which condition the leaſe to be void.

Soon after the reſtoration of King Charles II. the parliament taking into conſideration the miſerable eſtate of the church, certain lands, by way of augmentation, were granted to eight biſhops in the act of ſettlement, and confirmed in the act of explanation; of which bounty, as I remember, three ſees were in a great meaſure defeated; but, by what accidents, it is not here of any importance to relate.

This, at preſent, is the condition of the church in Ireland, with regard to epiſcopal revenues: which I have thus briefly (and perhaps imperfectly) deduced, for ſome information to thoſe, whoſe thoughts do not lead them to ſuch conſiderations.

By virtue of the ſtatute already mentioned, under king Charles I. limiting eccleſiaſtical bodies to the term of twenty-one years, under the reſerved rent of half real value, the biſhops have had ſome ſhare in the gradual riſe of lands, without which they could not have been ſupported with any common decency that might become their ſtation. It is above eighty years ſince the paſſing of that act: the ſee of Meath, one of the beſt in the kingdom, was then worth about 400 l. *per*

per annum; the poorer ones in the ſame proportion. If this were their preſent condition, I cannot conceive how they would have been able to pay for their patents, or buy their robes: but this will certainly be the condition of their ſucceſſors, if ſuch a bill ſhould paſs, as they ſay is now intended, which I will ſuppoſe; and believe many perſons, who may give a vote for it, are not aware of.

However, this is the act which is now attempted to be repealed, or at leaſt eluded; ſome are for giving biſhops leave to let fee-farms, others would allow them to let leaſes for lives; and the moſt moderate would repeal that clauſe, by which the biſhops are bound to let their lands at half value.

The reaſons for the riſe of value in lands, are of two kinds. Of the firſt kind, are, long peace and ſettlement after the devaſtations of war; plantations, improvements of bad ſoil, recovery of bogs and marſhes, advancement of trade and manufactures, increaſe of inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, and the like.

But there is another reaſon for the riſe of land, more gradual, conſtant and certain; which will have its effects in countries, that are very far from flouriſhing in any of the advantages I have juſt mentioned: I mean, *the perpetual decreaſe in the value of gold and ſilver.* I ſhall diſcourſe upon theſe two different kinds, with a view towards the bill now attempted.

As to the firſt: I cannot ſee how this kingdom is at any height of improvement, while four parts

parts in five of the plantations, for 30 years paſt, have been real diſimprovements; nine in ten of the quickſet-hedges being ruined for want of care or ſkill. And as to the foreſt-trees, they being often taken out of woods, and planted in ſingle rows on the tops of ditches, it is impoſſible they ſhould grow to be of uſe, beauty, or ſhelter. Neither can it be ſaid, that the ſoil of Ireland is improved to its full height, while ſo much lies all winter under water, and the bogs made almoſt deſperate, by the ill cutting of the turf. There hath, indeed, been ſome little improvement in the manufactures of linen and woollen, although very ſhort of perfection; but our trade was never in ſo low a condition: and as to agriculture, of which all wiſe nations have been ſo tender, the deſolation made in the country, by engroſſing graziers, and the great yearly importation of corn from England, are lamentable inſtances under what diſcouragement it lies.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe mortifications, I ſuppoſe there is no well-wiſher to his country without a little hope, that in time the kingdom may be on a better foot in ſome of the articles above mentioned. But it would be hard, if eccleſiaſtical bodies ſhould be the only perſons excluded from any ſhare in public advantages, which yet can never happen, without a greater ſhare of profit to their tenants: if God *ſends rain equally upon the juſt and the unjuſt*, why ſhould thoſe, who wait at his altars, and are inſtructors of the people,

ple, be cut off from partaking in the general benefits of law or of nature?

But, as this way of reaſoning may ſeem to bear a more favourable eye to the clergy, than perhaps will ſuit with the preſent diſpoſition or faſhion of the age; I ſhall therefore dwell more largely upon the ſecond reaſon for the riſe of land, which is *the perpetual decreaſe of the value of gold and ſilver.*

This may be obſerved from the courſe of the Roman hiſtory, above two thouſand years before thoſe inexhauſtible ſilver mines of Potoſi were known. The value of an *obolus*, and of every other coin, between the time of Romulus and that of Auguſtus, gradually ſunk above five parts in ſix, as appears by ſeveral paſſages out of the beſt authors. And yet, the prodigious wealth of that ſtate did not ariſe from the encreaſe of bullion in the world, by the diſcovery of new mines, but from a much more accidental cauſe, which was the ſpreading of their conqueſt, and thereby importing into Rome and Italy, the riches of the *eaſt* and *weſt*.

When the ſeat of empire was removed to Conſtantinople, the tide of money flowed that way, without ever returning; and was ſcattered in Aſia. But when that mighty empire was overthrown by the *northern* people, ſuch a ſtop was put to all trade and commerce, that vaſt ſums of money were buried, to eſcape the plundering of the conquerors; and what remained, was carried off by thoſe ravagers.

It

It were no difficult matter to compute the value of money in England during the Saxon reigns; but the monkiſh and other writers ſince the conqueſt, have put that matter in a clearer light, by the ſeveral accounts they have given us of the value of corn and cattle in years of dearth and plenty. Every one knows, that king John's whole portion, before he came to the crown, was but five thouſand pounds, without a foot of land.

I have likewiſe ſeen the ſteward's accounts of an ancient noble family in England, written in Latin between three and four hundred years ago, with the ſeveral prices of wine and victuals, to confirm my obſervations.

I have been at the trouble of computing (as others have done) the different values of money for about four hundred years paſt. Henry duke of Lancaſter, who lived about that period, founded an hoſpital in Leiceſter, for a certain number of old men, charging his lands with a groat a week to each for their maintenance, which is to this day duly paid them. In thoſe times, a penny was equal to ten pence halfpenny, and ſomewhat more than half a farthing in ours; which makes about eight ninths difference.

This is plain alſo from the old cuſtom upon many eſtates in England to let for leaſes of lives, (renewable at pleaſure) where the reſerved rent is uſually about twelve pence a pound, which then was near the half real value: and although the fines be not fixed, yet the landlord gets altogether not above three ſhillings in the pound of the worth of

of this land: and the tenants are ſo wedded to this cuſtom, that, if the owner ſuffer three lives to expire, none of them will take a leaſe on other conditions; or if he brings in a foreigner who will agree to pay a reaſonable rent, the other tenants, by all manner of injuries, will make that foreigner ſo uneaſy, that he muſt be forced to quit the farm; as the late Earl of Bath felt, by the experience of above ten thouſand pounds loſs.

The gradual decreaſe, for about two hundred years after, was not conſiderable; and therefore I do dot rely on the account given by ſome hiſtorians, that Harry the ſeventh left behind him eighteen hundred thouſand pounds; for although the Weſt-Indies were diſcovered before his death, and although he had the beſt talents and inſtruments for exacting of money, ever poſſeſſed by any prince ſince the time of Veſpaſian (whom he reſembled in many particulars) yet I conceive, that in his days, the whole coin of England could hardly amount to ſuch a ſum. For in the reign of Philip and Mary, Sir —— Cockain of Derbyſhire, the beſt houſe-keeper of his quality in the county, allowed his lady fifty pounds a year for maintaining the family, one pound a year wages to each ſervant, and two pounds to the ſteward; as I was told by a perſon of quality, who had ſeen the original account of his œconomy. Now, this ſum of fifty pounds, added to the advantages of a large domain, might be equal to about five hundred pounds a year at preſent, or ſomewhat more than four *fifths*.

The great plenty of ſilver in England began in queen Elizabeth's reign, when Drake and others took vaſt quantities of coin and bullion from the Spaniards, either upon their own American coaſts, or in their return to Spain. However, ſo much hath been imported annually from that time to this, that the value of money in England, and moſt parts of Europe, is ſunk above one half within the ſpace of one hundred years, notwithſtanding the great export of ſilver for about eighty years paſt to the Eaſt-Indies, from whence it never returns. But gold not being liable to the ſame accident, and by new diſcoveries grown every day more plentiful, ſeems in danger of becoming a drug.

This hath been the progreſs of the value of money in former ages, and muſt of neceſſity continue ſo for the future, without ſome new invaſion of Goths and Vandals to deſtroy law, property and religion, alter the very face of nature, and turn the world upſide down.

I muſt repeat, that what I am to ſay upon the ſubject, is intended only for the conviction of thoſe among our *own party*, who are true lovers of the church, and would be glad it ſhould continue in a tolerable degree of proſperity to the end of the world.

The church is ſuppoſed to laſt for ever, both in its diſcipline and doctrine; which is a privilege common to every petty corporation, who muſt likewiſe obſerve the laws of their foundation. If a gentleman's eſtate, which now yields him a thouſand

thouſand pounds a year, had been ſet for ever at the higheſt value, even in the flouriſhing days of king Charles the ſecond, would it now amount to above four or five hundred at moſt? What if this had happened two or three hundred years ago; would the reſerved rent at this day be any more than a ſmall chiefry? Suppoſe the revenues of a biſhop to have been under the ſame circumſtances; could he now be able to perform works of hoſpitality and charity? Thus, if the revenues of a biſhop be limited to a thouſand pounds a year; how will his ſucceſſor be in a condition to ſupport his ſtation with decency, when the ſame denomination of money ſhall not anſwer an half, a quarter, or an eighth part of that ſum? which muſt unavoidably be the conſequence of any bill to elude the limiting act, whereby the church was preſerved from utter ruin.

The ſame reaſon holds good in all corporations whatſoever, who cannot follow a more pernicious practice than that of granting perpetuities, for which many of them ſmart to this day; although the leaders among them are often ſo ſtupid as not to perceive it, or ſometimes ſo knaviſh as to find their private account in cheating the community.

Several colleges in Oxford were aware of this growing evil about an hundred years ago; and inſtead of limiting their rents to a certain ſum of money, prevailed with their tenants to pay the price of ſo many barrels of corn, to be valued as the market went at two ſeaſons (as I remember) in the year. For a barrel of corn is of a real intrinſic value,

which gold and ſilver are not: and by this invention, theſe colleges have preſerved a tolerable ſubſiſtence for their fellows and ſtudents to this day.

The preſent biſhops will indeed be no ſufferers by ſuch a bill; becauſe, their ages conſidered, they cannot expect to ſee any great decreaſe in the value of money; or at worſt they can make it up in the fines, which will probably be greater than uſual upon the change of leaſes into fee-farms or lives; or without the power of obliging their tenants to a real half value. And, as I cannot well blame them for taking ſuch advantages (conſidering the nature of human kind) when the queſtion is only, whether the money ſhall be put into their own, or another man's pocket: ſo they will never be excuſable before God or man, if they do not, to their death, oppoſe, declare, and proteſt againſt any ſuch bill, as muſt in its conſequences complete the ruin of the church, and of their own order in this kingdom.

If the fortune of a private perſon be diminiſhed by the weakneſs or inadvertency of his anceſtors, in letting leaſes for ever at low rents, the world lies open to his induſtry for purchaſing of more: but the church is barred by a *dead hand*; or, if it were otherwiſe, yet the cuſtom of making bequeſts to it, hath been out of practice for almoſt two hundred years, and *a great deal directly contrary* hath been its fortune.

I have been aſſured by a perſon of ſome conſequence, to whom I am likewiſe obliged for the account of ſome other facts already related, that the

the late † biſhop of Saliſbury (the greateſt *whig* of that bench in his days) confeſſed to him, that the liberty, which biſhops in England have of letting leaſes for lives, would, in his opinion, be one day the ruin of epiſcopacy there; and thought the church in this kingdom happy by the limitation act.

And have we not already found the effect of this different proceeding in both kingdoms? Have not two Engliſh prelates quitted their peerage and ſeats in parliament, in *a nation of freedom*, for the ſake of a more ample revenue even in this unhappy kingdom, rather than lie under the mortification of living below their dignity at home? for which, however, they cannot be juſtly cenſured. I know indeed ſome perſons, who offer, as an argument for repealing the limiting bill, that it may in future ages prevent the practice of providing this kingdom with biſhops from England, when the only temptation will be removed. And they alledge, that, as things have gone for ſome years paſt, gentlemen will grow diſcouraged from ſending their ſons to the univerſity, and from ſuffering them to enter into holy orders, when they are likely to languiſh under a curacy or ſmall vicarage to the end of their lives: but this is all a vain imagination; for the decreaſe in the value of money will equally affect both kingdoms: and beſides, when biſhoprics here grow too ſmall to invite over men of credit and conſequence, they will be left more fully to the diſpoſal of a chief

† Dr. Burnet.

governor, who can never fail of ſome worthleſs illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence. Thus will that whole bench, in an age or two, be compoſed of mean, ignorant, fawning gownmen, humble ſuppliants and dependents upon the *court* for a morſel of bread, and ready to ſerve every turn that ſhall be demanded from them, in hopes of getting ſome *commendam* tacked to their fees; which muſt then be the trade, as it is now too much in England, to the great diſcouragement of the inferior clergy. Neither is that practice without example among us.

It is now about eighty-five years ſince the paſſing of that limiting act, and there is but one inſtance in the memory of man, of a biſhop's leaſe broken, upon the plea of not being ſtatutable; which, in every body's opinion, could have been loſt by no other perſon than he, who was then tenant, and happened to be very ungracious in his county. In the preſent ‡ biſhop of Meath's caſe, that plea did not avail, although the leaſe were notoriouſly unſtatutable; the rent reſerved, being, as I have been told, not a ſeventh part of the real value; yet the jury, upon their oaths, *very gravely* found it to be according to the ſtatute; and one of them was heard to ſay, that he would *eat his ſhoes*, before he would give a verdict for the biſhop. A very few more have made the ſame attempt, with as little ſucceſs. Every biſhop and other eccleſiaſtical body reckon forty pounds in an hundred to be a reaſonable half value; or if it be only a third part, it ſeldom

‡ Dr. Evans, a Welſhman.

ſeldom or never breeds any difference between landlord and tenant. But when the rent is from five to nine or ten parts leſs than the worth, the biſhop, if he conſults the good of his ſee, will be apt to expoſtulate; and the tenant, if he be an honeſt man, will have ſome regard to the reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the demand, ſo as to yield to a moderate advancement, rather than engage in a ſuit, where law and equity are directly againſt him. By theſe means, the biſhops have been ſo true to their truſts, as to procure ſome ſmall ſhare in the advancement of rents; although it be notorious, that they do not receive the third penny (fines included) of the real value of their lands throughout the kingdom.

I was never able to imagine what inconvenience could accrue to the public by one or two thouſand pounds a year in the hands of a proteſtant biſhop, more than of a lay perſon *. The former, generally ſpeaking, liveth as piouſly and hoſpitably as the other; pays his debts as honeſtly, and ſpends as much of his revenue among his tenants: beſides, if they be his immediate tenants, you may diſtinguiſh them at firſt ſight by their habits and horſes; or, if you go to their houſes, by their comfortable way of living. But the misfortune is, that ſuch immediate tenants, generally ſpeaking, have others under them, and ſo a third and fourth in ſubordination, till it comes to the *wel-*

der

* This part of the paragraph is to be applied to the period when the whole was written, which was in 1723, when ſeveral of queen Anne's biſhops were living.

der (as they call him) who ſits at a rack-rent, and lives as miſerable as an Iriſh farmer upon a new leaſe from a lay landlord. But ſuppoſe a biſhop happens to be avaricious, (as being compoſed of the ſame ſtuff with other men) the conſequence to the public is no worſe than if he were a 'ſquire; for he leaves his fortune to his ſon or near relation, who, if he be rich enough, will never think of entering into the church.

And as there can be no diſadvantage to the public, in a proteſtant country, that a man ſhould hold lands as a *biſhop*, any more than if he were a *temporal* perſon; ſo it is of great advantage to the community, where a biſhop lives as he ought to do. He is bound in conſcience to reſide in his dioceſe, and by a ſolemn promiſe to keep hoſpitality: his eſtate is ſpent in the kingdom, not remitted to England: he keeps the clergy to their duty, and is an example of virtue both to them and the people. Suppoſe him an ill man; yet his very character will withhold him from any great or open exorbitancies. But in fact it muſt be allowed, that ſome biſhops of this kingdom, within twenty years paſt, have done very ſignal and laſting acts of public charity; great inſtances whereof are the * late and † preſent primate, and the Lord ‡ Archbiſhop of Dublin that now is, who hath left memorials of his bounty in many parts of his province. I might add the biſhop of § Raphoe, and ſeveral others: not forgetting the late dean of Down, Dr. Pratt, who beſtowed one

* Dr. Marſh. † Dr. Lindſay. ‡ Dr. King. § Dr. Foſter.

one thouſand pounds upon the univerſity; which foundation (that I may obſerve by the way) if the bill propoſed ſhould paſs, would be in the ſame circumſtances with the biſhops, nor ever able again to advance the ſtipends of the fellows and ſtudents, as lately they found it neceſſary to do; the determinate ſum appointed by the ſtatute for commons, being not half ſufficient, by the fall of money, to afford neceſſary ſuſtenance. But the paſſing of ſuch a bill muſt put an end to all eccleſiaſtical beneficence for the time to come; and whether this will be ſupplied by thoſe who are to reap the benefit, better than it hath been done by the grantees of impropriate tythes, who received them upon the old church conditions of keeping hoſpitality, it will be eaſy to conjecture.

To alledge, that paſſing ſuch a bill would be a good encouragement to improve biſhops lands, is a great error. Is it not the general method of landlords, to wait the expiration of a leaſe, and then cant their lands to the higheſt bidder? And what ſhould hinder the ſame courſe to be taken in church leaſes, when the limitation is removed, of paying half the real value to the biſhop? In riding through the country, how few improvements do we ſee upon the eſtates of laymen, farther than about their own domains? To ſay the truth, it is a great misfortune, as well to the public as to the biſhops themſelves, that their lands are generally let to lords and great 'ſquires, who in reaſon were never deſigned to be tenants; and therefore may naturally murmur at the payment of rent, as a

ſubſerviency,

ſubſerviency they were not born to. If the tenants to the church were honeſt farmers, they would pay their fines and rents with chearfulneſs, improve their lands, and thank God they were to give but a moderate half value for what they held. I have heard a man of a thouſand pounds a year talk with great contempt of biſhops leaſes, as being on a worſe foot than the reſt of his eſtate; and he had certainly reaſon: My anſwer was, that ſuch leaſes were originally intended only for the benefit of induſtrious huſbandmen, who would think it a great bleſſing to be ſo provided for, inſtead of having his farm ſcrewed up to the height, not eating one comfortable meal in a year, nor able to find ſhoes for his children.

I know not any advantage that can accrue by ſuch a bill, except the preventing of perjury in jurymen, and falſe dealing in tenants; which is a remedy like that of giving my money to an highwayman, before he attempts to take it by force; and ſo I ſhall be ſure to prevent the ſin of robbery.

I had wrote thus far, and thought to have made an end; when a bookſeller ſent me a ſmall pamphlet, entitled, *The caſe of the laity, with ſome queries;* full of the ſtrongeſt malice againſt the clergy, that I have any where met with ſince the reign of Toland, and others of that tribe. Theſe kind of advocates do infinite miſchief to OUR GOOD CAUSE, by giving grounds to the unjuſt reproaches of TORIES and JACOBITES, who charge us with being enemies to the church. If I bear an hearty unfeigned loyalty to his majeſty king

king GEORGE and the houſe of Hanover, not ſhaken in the leaſt by the hardſhips we lie under, which never can be imputable to ſo gracious a prince; if I ſincerely abjure the *Pretender*, and all *popiſh ſucceſſors*; if I bear a due veneration to the glorious memory of the late king WILLIAM, who preſerved theſe kingdoms from *popery* and *ſlavery* with the expence of his blood, and hazard of his life; and laſtly, if I am for a proper indulgence to all *diſſenters*, I think nothing more can be reaſonably demanded of *me* as a WHIG, and that my political catechiſm is full and complete. But whoever, under the ſhelter of that party denomination, and of many great profeſſions of loyalty, would deſtroy, or undermine, or injure the church eſtabliſhed; I utterly diſown him, and think he ought to chooſe another name of diſtinction for himſelf and his adherents. I came into the cauſe upon other principles, which, by the grace of God, I mean to preſerve as long as I live. Shall we juſtify the accuſations of our adverſaries? *Hoc Ithacus velit.* The *Tories* and *Jacobites* will behold us, with a malicious pleaſure, determined upon the ruin of our *friends*. For is not the preſent ſet of biſhops almoſt entirely of that number, as well as the great majority of the principal clergy? And a ſhort time will reduce the whole by vacancies upon death.

An impartial reader, if he pleaſes to examine what I have already ſaid, will eaſily anſwer the bold *queries* in the pamphlet I mentioned; he will be convinced, that *the reaſon ſtill ſtrongly exiſts, for which*

which that limiting law was enacted. A reaſonable man will wonder, where can be *the inſufferable grievance*, that an *eccleſiaſtical* landlord ſhould expect a moderate or a third part value in rent for his lands, when his title is *at leaſt* as ancient and as legal as that of a layman; who is yet but ſeldom guilty of giving ſuch beneficial bargains. Has *the nation been thrown into confuſion?* And have *many poor families been ruined* by rack-rents paid for the lands of the church? does *the nation cry out* to have a law that muſt in time ſend their biſhops a-begging? But God be thanked, the clamours of enemies to the church, is not yet the *cry*, and I hope will never prove the *voice* of the nation. The clergy, I conceive, will hardly allow that *the people maintain them*, any more than in the ſenſe that all landlords whatſoever are maintained by the people. Such aſſertions as theſe, and the inſinuations they carry along with them, proceed from principles which cannot be avowed by thoſe, who are for preſerving the happy *conſtitution* in *church* and *ſtate*. Whoever were the propoſers of ſuch *queries*, it might have provoked a bold writer to retaliate, perhaps with more juſtice than prudence, by ſhewing at whoſe door the grievance lies, and that the biſhops *at leaſt* are not to anſwer for the poverty of tenants.

To gratify this great reformer, who enlarges the *epiſcopal* rent-roll almoſt one half, let me ſuppoſe that all the church lands in the kingdom were thrown up to the laity; would the tenants in ſuch a caſe ſit eaſier in their rents than they do

o now? Or, would the money be equally ſpent
. the kingdom? No; the farmer would be
rewed up to the utmoſt penny by the agents
d ſtewards of *abſentees*, and the revenues em-
loyed in making a figure at London; to which
ty a full third part of the whole *income* of Ire-
nd is annually returned, to anſwer that ſingle
rticle of *maintenance* for Iriſh landlords.

Another of his quarrels is againſt *pluralities*
d *non-reſidence*: as to the former, it is a word
f ill-name, but not well underſtood. The cler-
y having been ſtripped of the greateſt part of
eir revenues, the *glebes* being generally loſt,
e *tythes* in the hands of laymen, the churches
emoliſhed, and the country depopulated; in or-
er to preſerve a face of *chriſtianity*, it was neceſ-
ary to unite ſmall *vicarages* ſufficient to make a
olerable maintenance for a *miniſter*. The profit
f ten or a dozen of theſe *unions* ſeldom amounts
o above eighty or an hundred pounds a year.
f there be a very few *dignitaries*, whoſe prefer-
nents are perhaps more liable to this accuſation,
t is to be ſuppoſed, they may be *favourites of the*
ime; or perſons of *ſuperior* merit, for whom
here hath ever been ſome indulgence in all go-
ernments.

As to *non-reſidence*, I believe there is no chriſ-
ian country upon earth, where the clergy have
eſs to anſwer for upon that *article*. I am confi-
lent there are not ten clergymen in the kingdom,
who, properly ſpeaking, can be termed *non-reſi-*
lents; for ſurely we are not to reckon in that

number thoſe, who for want of *glebes* are forced to retire to the neareſt neighbouring village for a *cabin* to put their heads in; the leading man of the pariſh, when he makes the greateſt clamour, being leaſt diſpoſed to accommodate the *miniſter* with an acre of ground. And indeed, conſidering the *difficulties* the clergy lie under upon this head, it hath been frequent matter of wonder to *me*, how they are able to perform that part of their duty ſo well as they do.

There is a * noble author, who hath lately addreſſed to the houſe of commons an excellent diſcourſe for the *encouragement of agriculture*; full of moſt uſeful *hints*, which I hope that honourable aſſembly will conſider as they deſerve. I am not a ſtranger to his lordſhip; and, excepting in what relates to the church, there are few perſons with whoſe opinions I am better pleaſed to agree; and am therefore grieved when I find him charging the inconveniencies in the payment of *tythes* upon the *clergy* and their *proctors*. His lordſhip is above conſidering a very known and vulgar truth, that the meaneſt farmer hath all manner of advantages againſt the moſt *powerful* clergyman, by whom it is impoſſible he can be wronged, although the *miniſter* were ever ſo evil diſpoſed; the whole ſyſtem of *teazing*, *perplexing*, and *defrauding* the *proctor*, or his *maſter*, being as well known to every *ploughman*, as the reaping or ſowing of his corn, and much more artfully practiſed. Beſides, the leading man in the pariſh muſt

* The late Lord Moleſworth.

nuſt have his *tythes* at his own rate, which is ıardly ever above one quarter of the value. And have heard it computed by many ſkilful obſerv-ers, whoſe intereſt was not concerned, that the clergy did not receive throughout the kingdom one half of what the laws have made their due.

As to his lordſhip's diſcontent againſt the *biſhops-court*, I ſhall not interpoſe farther than in venturing my private opinion, that the clergy would be very glad to recover their juſt *dues* by a more *ſhort*, *deciſive*, and *compulſive* method, than ſuch a cramped and limited juriſdiction will allow.

His lordſhip is not the only perſon diſpoſed to give the clergy the honour of being the *ſole* encouragers of all new improvements. If *hops*, *hemp*, *flax*, and twenty things more are to be planted, the clergy *alone* muſt reward the induſtrious farmer by abatement of the *tythe*. What if the owner of nine parts in ten would pleaſe to abate proportionally in his rent for every acre thus improved? Would not a man juſt dropt from the clouds, upon a full hearing, judge the demand to be at leaſt as reaſonable?

I believe no man will diſpute his lordſhip's title to his eſtate; nor will I the *jus divinum* of *tythes*, which he mentions with ſome emotion. I ſuppoſe the affirmative would be of little advantage to the clergy, for the ſame reaſon that a *maxim* in *law* hath more weight in the world, than an *article* of *faith*. And yet I think there may be ſuch a thing as *ſacrilege*; becauſe it is frequently mentioned by Greek and Roman au-

thors, as well as deſcribed in *holy writ*. This I am ſure of; that his lordſhip would at any time excuſe a PARLIAMENT for not concerning itſelf in his properties without his own conſent.

The obſervations I have made upon his lordſhip's diſcourſe, have not, I confeſs, been altogether proper to my ſubject: however, ſince he hath been pleaſed therein to offer ſome propoſals to the houſe of commons with relation to the clergy, I hope he will excuſe me for differing from him; which proceeds from his own principle, the deſire of defending *liberty* and *property*, that he hath ſo ſtrenuouſly and conſtantly maintained.

But the other writer openly declares for a law impowering the biſhops to ſet *fee-farms*; and ſays, *Whoever intimates, that they will deny their conſent to ſuch a reaſonable law, which the whole nation cries for, are enemies to them and the church.* Whether this be his real opinion, or only a ſtrain of mirth and irony, the matter is not much. However, my ſentiments are ſo directly contrary to his, that, I think, whoever impartially reads and conſiders what I have written upon this argument, hath either no regard for the church eſtabliſhed under the hierarchy of biſhops, or will never conſent to any law, that ſhall repeal or elude the limiting clauſe relating to the real half value, contained in the act of parliament *decimo Caroli, For the preſervation of the inheritance, rights, and profits of lands belonging to the church, and perſons eccleſiaſtical*: which was grounded upon reaſons, that do ſtill, and muſt for ever ſubſiſt.

Oct. 21. 1723.

The

The PRESBYTERIANS PLEA of MERIT in order to take off the TEST, impartially examined.

Written in the year 1731. *

WE have been told in the common news-papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the *presbyterians* and their abettors, for taking off the teſt; as a kind preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For if once *their light would ſo ſhine*, the *papiſts*, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he preſcribes it to a human creature †.

The

* See a letter on the ſubject, P. 209, of this volume; which was reprinted in Ireland on the ſame occaſion that produced this and the three following tracts.

† The author begins this tract in the true vein of wit and ſpirit, by ſaying,—— "We have been told in the common news-papers, that all attempts are to be made this ſeſſion by the *preſbyterians* and their abettors, for taking off the teſt; as a kind of preparatory ſtep to make it go down ſmoother in England. For if once *their light would ſo ſhine*, the *papiſts*, delighted with the blaze, would all come in and dance about it. This I take to be a prudent method; like that of a diſcreet phyſician, who firſt gives a new medicine to a *dog*, before he preſcribes it to a human creature."—— I have quoted this ſhort paſſage for the ſtyle, as well as the matter; and I dare ſay, even from hence you will be confirmed in one general obſervation, that Swift maintains and conducts his metaphors and alluſions, with a juſtneſs particularly delicate and exact, and without the leaſt ſtiffneſs or affectation. I have formerly men-

The *presbyterians* have, ever since the revolution, directed their learned casuists to employ their pens on this subject, by shewing the merits and pretensions, upon which they claim this *justice*, as founded upon the services they did towards the restoration of king Charles the second, and at the *revolution* under the prince of Orange. Which pleas I take to be the most singular in their kind, that ever were offered in the face of the sun against the most glaring lights of truth, and against a continuation of public facts known to all Europe for twenty years together. I shall therefore, impartially examine the merits and conduct of the *presbyterians* upon those two great events; and the pretensions to favour, which they challenge upon them.

Soon after the reformation of the church in England under Edward the sixth, upon queen Mary's succeeding to the crown (who restored *popery*) many *protestants* fled out of England to escape the persecution raised against the church, as her brother had left it established. Some of these exiles went to Geneva; which city had received the doctrine of Calvin, and rejected the government of bishops; with many other refinements. These English exiles readily embraced the Geneva system; and having added further improvements of their own, upon queen Mary's death

tioned in what degree of contempt and hatred he held the Dissenters, especially the presbyterians [above, p. 210.] and I need only add, that as this pamphlet was written for the meridian of Ireland, it ought to have been placed with the other tracts on the same subject. *Orrery.*——And so it is placed in this edition.

returned to England; where they preached
eir new opinions, inveighing bitterly againſt
pacy, and all rites and ceremonies, however
cent and antient in the church: building up-
his foundation; to run as far as poſſible
popery, even in the moſt minute and indiffe-
circumſtances. This faction, under the
e of *puritan*, became very turbulent during
whole reign of queen Elizabeth, and were al-
diſcouraged by that wiſe queen, as well as
er two ſucceſſors. However, their numbers
ell as their inſolence and perverſeneſs ſo far
aſed, that ſoon after the death of king
es the firſt, many inſtances of their petulancy
ſcurrility are to be ſeen in their pamphlets
ten for ſome years after (which was a trade
began in the days of queen Elizabeth) par-
arly with great rancour againſt the biſhops,
habits, and the ceremonies: ſuch were thoſe
rilous libels under the title of Martin Mar-
ite, and ſeveral others. And although the
of Clarendon tells us, until the year 1640
remember) the kingdom was in a ſtate of
ct peace and happineſs, without the leaſt ap-
ance of thought or deſign towards making
alterations in religion or government; yet I
found, by often rummaging for old books in
le Britain and Ducklane, a great number of
phlets printed from the year 1630 to 1640,
of as bold and impious railing expreſſions a-
ſt the lawful power of the crown, and the
r of biſhops, as ever were uttered during the
rebellion,

rebellion, or the whole ſubſequent tyranny of that fanatic anarchy. However, I find it manifeſt, that *puritaniſm* did not erect itſelf into a new ſeparate ſpecies of religion, till ſome time after the rebellion began. For in the latter times of king James the firſt, and the former part of his ſon, there were ſeveral *puritan* biſhops, and many *puritan* private clergymen; while people went, as their inclinations led them, to hear preachers of each party in the pariſh churches; for the *puritan* clergy had received epiſcopal orders as well as the reſt. But ſoon after the rebellion broke out, the term *puritan* gradually dropt, and that of *preſbyterian* ſucceeded; which ſect was in two or three years eſtabliſhed in all its forms, by what they called an ordinance of the lords and commons, without conſulting the king, who was then at war againſt his rebels. And from this period, the church continued under perſecution, until monarchy was reſtored in the year 1660.

In a year or two after, we began to hear of a new party riſen, and growing in the parliament, as well as the army, under the name of *independent*: it ſpread, indeed, ſomewhat more in the latter, but not equal with the *preſbyterians*, either in weight or number, until the very time the king was murdered.

When the king, who was then a priſoner in the iſle of Wight, had made his laſt conceſſions for a peace to the commiſſioners of the parliament, who attended him there; upon their return to London, they reported his majeſty's anſwer

wer in the houſe. Whereupon a number of moderate members, who, as Ludlow ſays, had ſecured their own terms with that prince, managed with ſo much art, as to obtain a majority in a thin houſe for paſſing a vote, That *the king's conceſſions were a ground for a future ſettlement.* But the great officers of the army joining with the diſcontented members, came to a reſolution of excluding all thoſe who had conſented to that vote; which they executed in a military way. Ireton told Fairfax the general, a rigid *preſbyterian*, of this reſolution; who thereupon iſſued his orders for drawing out the army the next morning, and placing guards in Weſtminſter-hall, the *court of requeſts*, and the *lobby*; who, in obedience to the general, in conjunction with thoſe members who had oppoſed the vote, would let no member enter the houſe, except thoſe of their own party. Upon which the queſtion for bringing the king to juſtice, was immediately put, and carried without oppoſition, that I can find. Then an order was made for his trial; the time and place appointed; the judges named, of whom Fairfax himſelf was one; although, by the advice or threats of his wife, he declined ſitting among them. However, by freſh orders under his own hand, which I have ſeen in print, he appointed guards to attend the judges at the trial, and to keep the city in quiet; as he did likewiſe to prevent any oppoſition from the people upon the day of execution.

From what I have already deduced, it appears manifeſt,

manifeſt, that the differences between theſe two ſects, *preſbyterian* and *independent*, did not then amount to half ſo much as what there is between a *whig* and *tory* at preſent among us. The deſign of utterly extirpating monarchy and epiſcopacy, was equally the ſame in both; evidently the conſequence of the very ſame principles, upon which the *preſbyterians* alone began, continued, and would have ended in the ſame events; if, towards the concluſion, they had not been beard-ed by that new party, with whom they could not agree about dividing the ſpoil. However, they held a good ſhare of civil and military employments during the whole time of the uſurpation; and their names, actions and preferments are frequent in the accounts of thoſe times: For, I make no doubt, that all the prudent *preſbyterians* complied, in proper ſeaſons falling in with the ſtream; and thereby got that ſhare in employments, which many of them held till the reſtoration, and perhaps, too many of them after. In the ſame manner, we find our wiſeſt *tories* in both kingdoms, upon the change of hands and meaſures at the queen's death, have endeavoured, for ſeveral years, by due compliances, to recover the time they had loſt by a temporary obſtinacy; wherein they have well ſucceeded, according to their degrees of merit; of whoſe names I could here make honourable mention, if I did not fear it might offend their modeſty. As to what is alledged, that ſome of the *preſbyterians* declared openly againſt the king's murder; I allow it to be true.

true. But, from what motives? No other can poſſibly be aſſigned than perfect ſpite, rage, and envy, to find themſelves wormed out of all power by a new infant ſpawn of *independents* ſprung from their own bowels. It is true, the differences in religious tenets between them, are very few and trifling; the chief quarrel, as far as I remember, relating to congregational and national aſſemblies. But, wherever intereſt or power think fit to interfere, it little imports what principles the oppoſite parties think fit to charge upon each other; for we ſee at this day, that the *tories* are more hated by the whole ſet of zealous *whigs*, than the very *papiſts* themſelves; and, in effect, as much unqualified for the ſmalleſt office; although both theſe parties aſſert themſelves to be of the ſame religion, in all its branches of doctrine and diſcipline; and profeſs the ſame loyalty to the ſame *proteſtant* king and his heirs.

If the reader would know what became of this *independent* party, upon whom all the miſchief is charged by their *preſbyterian* brethren, he may pleaſe to obſerve, that, during the whole uſurpation, they contended, by degrees, with their parent ſect, and, as I have already ſaid, ſhared in employments; and gradually, after the reſtoration, mingled with the maſs of *preſbyterians*; lying ever ſince undiſtinguiſhed in the herd of *diſſenters*.

The *presbyterian* merit is of as little weight, when they alledge themſelves inſtrumental towards the king's reſtoration. The kingdom grew tired

tired with thoſe ridiculous models of government; firſt by a houſe of lords and commons, without a king; then without biſhops; afterwards by a rump * and lords temporal; then by a rump alone; next by a ſingle perſon for life, in conjunction with a council; by agitators; by major-generals; by a new kind of repreſentatives from the three kingdoms; by the keepers of the liberties of England; with other ſchemes that have ſlipped out of my memory. Cromwell was dead; his ſon Richard, a weak ignorant wretch, who gave up his monarchy, much in the ſame manner with the two uſurping kings of Brentford; † the people haraſſed with taxes, and other oppreſſions. The king's party, then called the Cavaliers, began to recover their ſpirits. The few nobility ſcattered through the kingdom, who lived in a moſt retired manner, obſerving the confuſion of things, could no longer endure to be ridden by bakers, coblers, brewers, and the like, at the head of armies, and plundering every where like French dragoons. The *rump* aſſembly grew deſpicable to thoſe who had raiſed them: the city of London, exhauſted by almoſt twenty years contributing to their own ruin, declared againſt them. The *rump*, after many deaths and reſurrections, was, in the moſt contemptuous manner, kicked out, and burnt in effigy. The excluded

* This name was given to that part of the houſe of commons which remained after the moderate men had been expelled by military force. *Hawkeſ.*

† In the Rehearſal. *Hawkeſ.*

excluded members were let in; a free parliament called, in as legal a manner as the times would allow; and the king reſtored.

The ſecond claim of *presbyterian* merit, is founded upon their ſervices againſt the dangerous deſigns of king James the Second; while that prince was uſing all his endeavours to introduce *popery*, which he openly profeſſed upon his coming to the crown: to this they add their eminent ſervices at the revolution under the prince of Orange.

Now, the *quantum* of *presbyterian* merit, during the four years reign of that weak, bigotted, and ill-adviſed prince, as well as at the time of the revolution, will eaſily be computed, by a recourſe to a great number of hiſtories, pamphlets and public papers, printed in thoſe times, and ſome afterwards; beſides the verbal teſtimonies of many perſons yet alive, who are old enough to have known and obſerved the *diſſenters* conduct in that critical period.

It is agreed, that upon king Charles the ſecond's death, ſoon after his ſucceſſor had publicly owned himſelf a Roman *catholic*, he began with his firſt careſſes to the church party; from whom having received very cold, diſcouraging anſwers, he applied to the *preſbyterian* leaders and teachers: being adviſed by his prieſts and *popiſh* courtiers, that the ſafeſt method towards introducing his own religion, would be by taking off the *ſacramental teſt*, and giving a full liberty of conſcience to all religions, (I ſuppoſe that profeſſed

chriſtianity.) It ſeems that the *preſbyterians* in the later years of king Charles the ſecond, upon account of certain plots (allowed by biſhop Burnet to be genuine) had been for a ſhort time forbid to hold their conventicles. Whereupon theſe charitable Chriſtians, out of perfect reſentment againſt the church, received the gracious offers of king James with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of loyalty, and higheſt acknowledgements for his favour. I have ſeen ſeveral of their addreſſes, full of thanks and praiſes, with bitter inſinuations of what they had ſuffered; putting themſelves and the *papiſts* upon the ſame foot, as fellow-ſufferers for conſcience; and with the ſtile of *our brethren the Roman catholics*. About this time began the project of *cloſeting* (which hath ſince been practiſed many times with more art and ſucceſs) where the principal gentlemen of the kingdom were privately catechiſed by his majeſty, to know whether, if a new parliament were called, they would agree to paſs an act for repealing the *ſacramental teſt*, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience. But he received ſo little encouragement, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs, he had recourſe to his diſpenſing power, which the judges had determined to be part of his prerogative. By colour of this determination, he preferred ſeveral *presbyterians*, and many *papiſts*, to civil and military employments. While the king was thus buſied, it is well known that monſieur Fagel, the Dutch envoy in London, delivered the opinion of the prince and princeſs of Orange concerning

cerning the repeal of the *teſt*; whereof the king had ſent an account to their highneſſes, to know how far they approved of it. The ſubſtance of their anſwer, as reported by Fagel, was this, *that their highneſſes thought very well of a liberty of conſcience; but by no means of giving employments to any other perſons than thoſe who were of the national church.* This opinion was confirmed by ſeveral reaſons: I cannot be more particular, not having the paper by me, although it hath been printed in many accounts of thoſe times. And thus much every moderate churchman would perhaps ſubmit to: but to truſt any part of the civil power in the hands of thoſe, whoſe intereſt, inclination, conſcience, and former practices, have been wholly turned to introduce a different ſyſtem of religion and government, hath very few examples in any chriſtian ſtate; nor any at all in Holland, the great patroneſs of univerſal toleration.

Upon the firſt intelligence king James received of an intended invaſion by the prince of Orange, among great numbers of *papiſts* to increaſe his troops he gave commiſſions to ſeveral *presbyterians*; ſome of whom had been officers under the *rump*; and particularly he placed one Richards, a noted *presbyterian*, at the head of a regiment, who had been governor of Wexford in Cromwell's time, and is often mentioned by Ludlow in his Memoirs. This regiment was raiſed in England againſt the prince of Orange: the colonel made his ſon a captain, whom I knew, and who was as zealous a *presbyterian* as his father. However,

at the time of the prince's landing, the father, eaſily foreſeeing how things would go, went over like many others to the prince, who continued him in his regiment; but coming over a year or two after, to aſſiſt in raiſing the ſiege of Derry, he behaved himſelf ſo like either a coward or a traitor, that his regiment was taken from him.

I will now conſider the conduct of the church party during the whole reign of that unfortunate king. They were ſo unanimous againſt promiſing to paſs an act for repealing the teſt, and eſtabliſhing a general liberty of conſcience, that the king durſt not truſt a parliament; but, encouraged by the profeſſions of loyalty given him by his *presbyterian* friends, went on with his diſpenſing power.

The church clergy at that time are allowed to have written the beſt collection of tracts againſt *popery*, that ever appeared in England; which are to this day in the higheſt eſteem. But upon the ſtricteſt enquiry, I could never hear of above one or two papers publiſhed by the *presbyterians*, at that time, upon the ſame ſubject. Seven great prelates (he of Canterbury among the reſt) were ſent to the tower for preſenting a petition, wherein they deſired to be excuſed in not obeying an illegal command from the king. The biſhop of London, Dr. Compton, was ſummoned to anſwer before the commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs, for not ſuſpending Dr. Sharp (afterwards Archbiſhop of York) by the king's command. If the *preſbyterians* expreſſed the ſame zeal upon any occaſion,

ſion, the inſtances of it are not, as I can find, left upon record, or tranſmitted by tradition. The proceedings againſt Magdalen *college* in Oxford, for refuſing to comply with the king's mandate for admitting a profeſſed *papiſt* upon their foundation, are a ſtanding proof of the courage and firmneſs in religion ſhown by that learned ſociety, to the ruin of their fortunes. The *preſbyterians* know very well, that I could produce many more inſtances of the ſame kind. But theſe are enough, in ſo ſhort a paper as I intend at preſent.

It is indeed very true, that after king William was ſettled on the Engliſh throne, the *presbyterians* began to appear, and offer their credentials, and demand favour: and the new king having been originally bred a Calviniſt, was deſirous enough to make them eaſy (if that would do it) by a legal toleration; although in his heart he never bore much affection to that ſect; nor deſigned to favour them farther than as it ſtood with the preſent ſcheme of politics; as I have long ſince been aſſured by the greateſt men of whig principles at that time in England.

It is likewiſe true, nor will it be denied, that when the king was poſſeſſed of the Engliſh crown, and the remainder of the quarrel was left to be decided in this kingdom; the *presbyterians* wiſely choſe to join with the *proteſtant* army, rather than with that of king James their old friend, whoſe affairs were then in a manner deſperate. They were wiſe enough to know, that this kingdom,

divided againſt itſelf, could never prevail againſt the united power of England. They fought *pro aris et focis*; for their eſtates and religion: which latter will never ſuffer ſo much by the church of England, as by that of Rome, where they are counted heretics as well as we: and conſequently they have no other game to play. But what merit they can build upon having joined with a *proteſtant* army, under a king they acknowledged, to defend their own liberties and properties againſt a *popiſh* enemy under an abdicated king, is, I confeſs, to me abſolutely inconceivable; and I believe will equally be ſo for ever to any reaſonable man.

When theſe ſectaries were ſeveral years ago making the ſame attempt for aboliſhing the teſt, many groundleſs reports were induſtriouſly and ſeaſonably ſpread, of an invaſion threatened by the *pretender* on the north of Ireland. At which time the *presbyterians* in their phamphlets argued in a menacing manner, that if the *pretender* ſhould invade thoſe parts of the kingdom, where the numbers and eſtates of the diſſenters chiefly lay, they would ſit ſtill, and *let us fight our own battles*; ſince they were to reap no advantage, which ever ſide ſhould be victors. If this were the courſe they intended to take in ſuch a caſe, I deſire to know, how they could contrive ſafely to ſtand neuters, otherwiſe than by a compact with the *pretender* and his army to ſupport their neutrality, and protect them againſt the forces of the crown? This is a neceſſary ſuppoſition; becauſe

because they must otherwise have inevitably been a prey to both. However, by this frank declaration, they sufficiently shewed their good will, and confirmed the common charge laid at their door, That a Scottish or northern *presbyterian* hates our episcopal established church more than *popery* itself. And the reason for this hatred is natural enough; because it is the church alone, that stands in the way between them and power; which *popery* doth not.

Upon this occasion I am in some doubt, whether the political spreaders of those chimerical invasions, made a judicious choice in fixing the northern parts of Ireland for that romantic enterprise. Nor can I well understand the wisdom of the *presbyterians* in countenancing and confirming those reports; because, it seems to cast a most infamous reflection upon the loyalty and religious principles of their whole body; for if there had been any truth in the matter, the consequence must have been allowed, that the *pretender* counted upon more assistance from his father's friends the *presbyterians*, by choosing to land in those very parts, where their number, wealth and power most prevailed, rather than among those of his own religion. And therefore, in charity to this sect, I rather incline to believe, that those reports of an invasion were formed and spread by the race of small politicians, in order to do a seasonable job.

As to *popery* in general, which, for a thousand years past, hath been introducing and multiplying corruptions

corruptions both in doctrine and discipline; I lo
upon it to be the most absurd system of Christ
nity professed by any nation. But I cannot a
prehend this kingdom to be much in danger fr
it. The estates of papists are very few; crun
ling into parcels, and daily diminishing; th
common people are sunk in poverty, ignorar
and cowardice, and of as little consequence
women and children. Their nobility and gen
are at least one half ruined, banished, or conve
ed: they all soundly feel the smart of what th
suffered in the last Irish war. Some of them a
already retired into foreign countries; others,
I am told, intend to follow them; and the re
I believe, to a man, who still possess any lan
are absolutely determined never to hazard the
again, for the sake of establishing their superl
tion. If it hath been thought fit, as some o
serve, to abate of the law's rigour against *pop*
in this kingdom, I am confident it was done
very wise reasons, considering the situation of
fairs abroad at different times, and the interest
the *protestant* religion in general. And as I
not find the least fault in this proceeding, so I
not conceive, why a sunk discarded party, w
neither expect nor desire any thing more than
quiet life, should, under the names of *high-flye*
Jacobites, and many other vile appellations,
charged so often in print, and at common table
with endeavouring to introduce *popery* and t
pretender; while the *papists* abhor them above
other men, on account of severities again
the

their prieſts in her late majeſty's reign, when the *now diſbanded reprobate party* was in power. This I was convinced of ſome years ago, by a long jouſney into the ſouthern parts; where I had the curioſity to ſend for many prieſts of the pariſhes I paſſed through; and, to my great ſatisfaction, found them every where abounding in profeſſions of loyalty to the late king George, for which they gave me the reaſons above-mentioned: at the ſame time, complaining bitterly of the hardſhips they ſuffered under the QUEEN's *laſt miniſtry*.

I return from this digreſſion to the modeſt demands of the *preſbyterians* for a repeal of the *ſacramental teſt*, as a reward for their merits at the *reſtoration* and the *revolution*; which merits I have fairly repreſented, as well as my memory would allow me. If I have committed any miſtakes, they muſt be of little moment. The facts and principal circumſtances are what I have obtained and digeſted from reading the hiſtories of thoſe times written by each party; and many thouſands have done the ſame as well as I, who, I am ſure, have in their minds drawn the ſame concluſions.

This is the faction, and theſe the men, who are now reſuming their applications, and giving in their bills of merit to both kingdoms upon two points, which, of all others, they have the leaſt pretenſions to offer. I have collected the facts with all poſſible impartiality, from the current hiſtories of thoſe times; and have ſhown, although very briefly, the gradual proceedings of thoſe ſectaries, under the denominations of *puritans*,

threats, according to their cuſtom) that t
liament ſhould fix them upon an equal fo
the church eſtabliſhed. I would fain k
what branch of the legiſlature they can h
forehead to apply. Not to my lords the b
who muſt have often read how the pred
of this very faction, acting upon th
principles, drove the whole bench out
houſe; who were then, and hitherto cc
one of the three eſtates: not to the t
peers, the ſecond of the three eſtates; wl
have heard, that immediately after thoſe re
fanatics had murdered their king, they
houſe of lords to be uſeleſs and dangero
would let them ſit no longer, otherwiſe tha
elected as commoners: not to the houſe
mons; who muſt have heard, that in tho
tic times the *preſbyterian* and *independe*
manders in the army, by military power,
all the moderate men out of the houſe,

t the ſeſſion now approaching, and a clan of
ting teachers being come up to town from
northern head-quarters, accompanied by
of their elders and agents, and ſupported
general contribution, to ſolicit their eſta-
nent, with a capacity of holding all military
:ll as civil employments, I think it high time
this paper ſhould ſee the light. However, I
ɔt conclude without freely confeſſing, that if
resbyterians ſhould obtain their ends, I could
ɛ ſorry to find them miſtaken in the point,
h they have moſt at heart by the repeal of
teſt; I mean the benefit of employments.
after all, what aſſurance can a Scottiſh north-
liſſenter, born on Iriſh ground have, that he
be treated with as much favour as a *TRUE*
T born beyond the Tweed?
am ready enough to believe, that all I have
will avail but little. I have the common ex-
of other men, when I think myſelf bound
ll religious and civil ties, to diſcharge my
cience, and to warn my countrymen upon this
ortant occaſion. It is true, the advocates for
ſcheme promiſe a new world, after this bleſſed
k ſhall be completed; that all animoſity and
ion muſt immediately drop; that the only di-
ɔtion in this kingdom will then be of *papiſt*
proteſtant; for as to *whig* and *tory*, *high church*
low church, *Jacobite* and *Hanoverian*, *court*
country party, *Engliſh* and *Iriſh* intereſts, *diſ-*
ers and *conformiſts*, *new light* and *old light*, *A-*
ptiſt and *Independent*, *Quaker* and *Muggletoni-*
an;

an; they will all meet, and jumble together into a perfect harmony, at the seſſions and aſſizes, on the bench, and in the revenues; and, upon the whole, in all civil and military truſts, not excepting the great councils of the nation. For it is wiſely argued thus: That a kingdom being no more than a larger knot of friends met together, it is againſt the rules of good manners to ſhut any perſon out of the company, except the *papiſts*, who profeſs themſelves of another club.

I am at a loſs to know, what arts the *presbyterian* ſect intends to uſe, in convincing the world of their loyalty to kingly government, which (long before the prevalence, or even the birth of their *independent* rivals) as ſoon as the king's forces were overcome, declared their principles to be againſt monarchy, as well as epiſcopacy and the houſe of lords, even until the king was reſtored: at which event, although they were forced to ſubmit to the preſent power, yet I have not heard, that they did ever to this day renounce any one principle by which their predeceſſors then acted; yet this they have been challenged to do, or at leaſt to ſhew that others have done it for them, by a certain * doctor, who, as I am told, hath much employed his pen in the like diſputes. I own, they will be ready enough to inſinuate themſelves into any government: but if they mean to be honeſt and upright, they will, and muſt endeavour by all means which they ſhall think lawful, to introduce and eſtabliſh their own ſcheme of religion,

* The late Dr. TISDAL, who died June 1736.

religion, as neareſt approaching to the word of God, by caſting out all ſuperſtitious ceremonies, eccleſiaſtical titles, habits, diſtinctions, and ſuperiorities, as rags of *popery*, in order to a *thorough reformation;* and as in charity bound to promote the ſalvation of their countrymen, wiſhing with St. Paul, *that the whole kingdom were as they are.* But what aſſurance will they pleaſe to give, that, when their ſect ſhall become the national eſtabliſhed worſhip, they will treat US DISSENTERS as we have treated them? Was this their courſe of proceeding during the dominion of the *ſaints?* Were not all the remainders of the epiſcopal church in thoſe days, eſpecially the clergy, under a perſecution for above a dozen years, equal to that of the primitive Chriſtians under heathen emperors? That this proceeding was ſuitable to their principles, is known enough; for many of their preachers then writ books, expreſly againſt allowing any liberty of conſcience in a religion different from their own; producing many arguments to prove that opinion, and, among the reſt, one frequently inſiſted on, That allowing ſuch a liberty, would be, to *eſtabliſh iniquity by a law* *. Many of theſe writings are yet to be ſeen; and, I hear, have been quoted by the doctor abovementioned.

As to their great objection of proſtituting that holy inſtitution, the bleſſed ſacrament, by way of a teſt before admittance into any employment; I

* See many hundred quotations to prove this, in the treatiſe called, *Scotch preſbyterian Eloquence.*

aſk, whether they would not be content to receive it, *after their own manner*, for the office of a judge, for that of a commiſſioner in the revenue, for a regiment of horſe, or to be a lord juſtice. I believe they would ſcruple it as little, as a long grace before and after dinner, which they can ſay without *bending a knee*; for as I have been told, their manner of taking bread and wine in their conventicles, is performed with little more ſolemnity than at their common meals. And therefore, ſince they look upon our practice in receiving the elements to be idolatrous, they neither can, nor ought in conſcience to allow us that liberty, otherwiſe than by connivance, and a bare toleration, like what is permitted to the *papiſts*. *But leſt we ſhould offend them*, I am ready to change this teſt for another; although I am afraid, that ſanctified reaſon is by no means the point where the difficulty pinches, and is only offered by pretended churchmen; as if they could be content with our believing that the impiety and profanation of making the ſacrament a teſt, were the only objection. I therefore propoſe, that before the preſent law be repealed, another may be enacted, That no man ſhall receive any employment, before he ſwears himſelf to be a true member of the church of Ireland, in doctrine and diſcipline, *&c.* and that he will never frequent or communicate with any other form of worſhip. It ſhall likewiſe be further enacted, that whoever offends, *&c.* ſhall be fined five hundred pounds, impriſoned for a year and a day, and rendered incapable of

all

all public truſt for ever. Otherwiſe, I do inſiſt, that thoſe pious, indulgent, external profeſſors of our national religion ſhall either give up that fallacious hypocritical reaſon for taking off the teſt, or freely confeſs, that they deſire to have a gate wide open for every ſect, without any teſt at all, except that of ſwearing loyalty to the king; which, however, conſidering their principles with regard to monarchy yet unrenounced, might, if they would pleaſe to look deep enough into their own hearts, prove a more bitter teſt, than any other that the law hath yet invented.

For from the firſt time that theſe ſectaries appeared in the world, it hath been always found by their whole proceedings, that they profeſſed an utter hatred to kingly government. I can recollect at preſent three civil eſtabliſhments, where Calviniſts, and ſome other reformers who rejected *epiſcopacy*, poſſeſs the ſupreme power; and theſe are all republics; I mean, Holland, Geneva, and the reformed Swiſs cantons. I do not ſay this in diminution or diſgrace to commonwealths; wherein I confeſs I have much altered many opinions under which I was educated, having been led by ſome obſervation, long experience, and a thorough deteſtation for the corruptions of mankind: inſomuch, that I am now juſtly liable to the cenſure of Hobbes, who complains, that the youth of England imbibe ill opinions from reading the hiſtories of ancient Greece and Rome, thoſe renowned ſcenes of liberty and every virtue.

But as to monarchs, who muſt be ſuppoſed well to ſtudy and underſtand their own intereſt; they will beſt conſider, whether thoſe people, who in all their actions, preachings and writings, have openly declared themſelves againſt regal power, are to be ſafely placed in an equal degree of favour and truſt with thoſe, who have been always found the true and only friends to the Engliſh eſtabliſhment. From which conſideration, I could have added one more article to my new teſt, if I had thought it worth my time.

I have been aſſured by ſome perſons who were preſent, that ſeveral of theſe diſſenting teachers, upon their firſt arrival hither to ſolicit the repeal of the teſt, were pleaſed to expreſs their gratitude, by publicly drinking the healths of certain eminent patrons, whom they pretend to have found among us. If this be true, and that the teſt muſt be delivered up by the very *ſuperiors appointed to defend it*; the affair is already in effect at an end. What *ſecret* reaſons thoſe patrons may have given for ſuch a return of brotherly love, I ſhall not enquire: *for, O my ſoul, come not thou into their* ſecret; *unto their* aſſembly, *mine honour, be not thou united. For in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will they digged down a wall. Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in* Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* Iſrael.

The

The ADVANTAGES propoſed by repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, impartially conſidered.

Written in the year 1732.

WHOEVER writes impartially upon this ſubject, muſt do it not only as a mere ſecular man, but as one who is altogether indifferent to any particular ſyſtem of chriſtianity. And I think, in whatever country that religion predominates, there is one certain form of worſhip and ceremony, which is looked upon as the eſtabliſhed; and conſequently, only the prieſts of that particular form are maintained at the public charge; and all civil employments beſtowed among thoſe, who comply (at leaſt outwardly) with the ſame eſtabliſhment.

This method is ſtrictly obſerved, even by our neighbours the Dutch, who are confeſſed to allow the fulleſt liberty of conſcience of any chriſtian ſtate; and yet are never known to admit any perſons into civil offices, who do not conform to the legal worſhip. As to their military men, they are indeed not ſo ſcrupulous; being by the nature of their government under a neceſſity of hiring foreign troops, of whatever religious denomination, upon every great emergency, and maintaining no ſmall number in time of peace.

This caution, therefore, of making one eſta-

bliſhed faith, ſeems to be univerſal, and founded upon the ſtrongeſt reaſons; the miſtaken or affected zeal of obſtinacy and enthuſiaſm having produced ſuch a number of horrible deſtructive events throughout all Chriſtendom. For, whoever begins to think the national-worſhip is wrong in any important article of practice or belief, will, if he be ſerious, naturally have a zeal to make as many proſelytes as he can: and a nation may poſſibly have an hundred different ſects, with their leaders; every one of which hath an equal right to plead, that they muſt *obey God rather than man;* muſt *cry aloud and ſpare not;* muſt *lift up their voice like a trumpet.*

This was the very caſe of England during the fanatic times. And againſt all this, there ſeems to be no defence, but that of ſupporting one eſtabliſhed form of doctrine and diſcipline; leaving the reſt to a bare liberty of conſcience, but without any maintenance or encouragement from the public.

Wherever this national religion grows ſo corrupt, or is thought to do ſo by a very great majority of landed people joined to the governing party, whether prince or ſenate, or both, it ought to be changed; provided the work might be done without blood or confuſion. Yet, whenever ſuch a change ſhall be made, ſome other eſtabliſhment muſt ſucceed, although for the worſe; allowing all deviations, that would break the union, to be only tolerated. In this ſenſe, thoſe who affirm that every law, which is contrary to the law of God,

God, is void in itſelf, ſeem to be miſtaken: for many laws in *popiſh* kingdoms and ſtates, many more among the Turks, and perhaps not a few in other countries, are directly againſt the divine laws; and yet, God knows, are very far from being void in the executive part.

Thus for inſtance, if the three eſtates of parliament in England (whereof the lords ſpiritual, who repreſent the *church*, are one) ſhould agree and obtain the royal aſſent to aboliſh epiſcopacy, together with the liturgy, and the whole frame of the Engliſh church, as *burthenſome, dangerous, and contrary to holy ſcripture*; and that *presbytery, anabaptiſm, quakeriſm, independency, muggletonianiſm, browniſm, familiſm*, or any other ſubdivided ſect among us, ſhould be eſtabliſhed in its place, without queſtion all peaceable ſubjects ought paſſively to ſubmit; and the predominant ſect muſt become the religion eſtabliſhed; the public maintaining no other teachers not admitting any perſons of a different religious profeſſion into civil offices, at leaſt if their intention be to preſerve the nation in peace.

Suppoſing then, that the preſent ſyſtem of religion were aboliſhed; and *presbytery*, which I find ſtands the faireſt, with its ſynods and claſſes, and all its forms and ceremonies eſſential or circumſtantial, were erected into the national worſhip; their teachers, and no others, could have any legal claim to be ſupported at the public charge, whether by ſtipends or tythes, and only the

the reſt of the ſame faith to be capable of civil employments.

If there be any true reaſoning in what I have laid down, it ſhould ſeem that the project now in agitation for repealing the *teſt act*, and yet leaving the name of an eſtabliſhment to the preſent national church, is altogether inconſiſtent; and may admit of conſequences, which thoſe who are the moſt indifferent to any religion at all, are poſſibly not aware of.

I preſume, whenever the *teſt* ſhall be repealed, which obliges all men, who enter into office under the crown, to receive the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of Ireland; the way to employments will immediately be left open to all *diſſenters* (except *papiſts*) whoſe conſciences can ſuffer them to take the common oaths in ſuch caſes preſcribed; after which, they are qualified to fill any lay-ſtation in this kingdom, from that of chief governor to an exciſe-man.

Thus, of the three judges on each bench, the firſt may be a *preſbyterian*, the ſecond a *free-will baptiſt*, and the third a *church-man*; the *lord chancellor* may be an *independent*; the revenues may be managed by ſeven commiſſioners of as many different ſects; and the like of all other employments: not to mention the ſtrong probability, that the lawfulneſs of taking oaths may be *revealed* to the quakers, who then will ſtand upon as good a foot for preferment, as any other loyal ſubjects. It is obvious to imagine, under ſuch a motley adminiſtration of affairs, what a claſhing there will be

of

of intereſt and inclinations; what pullings and hawlings backwards and forwards; what a zeal and bias in each religioniſt to advance his own tribe, and depreſs the others. For I ſuppoſe nothing will be readier granted, than that, how indifferent ſoever moſt men are in faith and morals, yet, whether out of artifice, natural complexion, or love of contradiction, none are more obſtinate in maintaining their own opinions, and worrying all who differ from them, than thoſe who publicly ſhew the leaſt ſenſe either of religion or common honeſty.

As to the latter, biſhop Burnet tells us, that the *presbyterians* in the fanatic times profeſſed themſelves to be above morality; which, as we find in ſome of their writings, was numbered among the *beggarly elements*; and accordingly, at this day, no ſcruples of conſcience with regard to conformity are in any trade or calling inconſiſtent with the greateſt fraud, oppreſſion, perjury, or any other vice.

This brings to my memory a paſſage in Montaigne, of a common proſtitute, who in the ſtorming of a town, when a ſoldier came up to her chamber and offered violence to her chaſtity, rather choſe to venture her neck by leaping out of the window than ſuffer a rape; yet ſtill continued her trade of lewdneſs, while ſhe had any cuſtomers left.

I confeſs, that in my private judgement an unlimited permiſſion of all ſects whatſoever (except *papiſts*) to enjoy employments, would be leſs pernicious

pernicious to the public, than a fair ſtruggle between two contenders; becauſe, in the former caſe, ſuch a jumble of principles might poſſibly have the effect of contrary poiſons mingled together; which a ſtrong conſtitution might perhaps be able for ſome time to ſurvive.

But, however, I ſhall take the other and more probable ſuppoſition, that this battle for employments is to be fought only between the preſbyterians, and thoſe of the church *yet* eſtabliſhed. I ſhall not enter into the merits of either ſide, by examining, which of the two is the better ſpiritual œconomy, or which is moſt ſuited to our civil conſtitution: but the queſtion turns upon this point; when the preſbyterians ſhall have got their ſhare of employments, (which muſt be one full half, or elſe they cannot look upon themſelves as fairly dealt with) I aſk, whether they ought not, by their own principles, and by the ſtricteſt rules of conſcience, to uſe the utmoſt of their ſkill, power and influence, in order to reduce the whole kingdom to an uniformity in religion, both as to doctrine and diſcipline moſt agreeable to the word of God. Wherein if they can ſucceed without blood (as under the preſent diſpoſition of things it is very poſſible they may) it is to be hoped they will at leaſt be ſatisfied: only I would warn them of a few difficulties. The firſt is, of compromiſing among themſelves that important controverſy about the old light and the new; which otherwiſe may after this eſtabliſhment ſplit them as wide as papiſt and proteſtant, whig

whig and tory, or churchman and diſſenter; and conſequently the work will be to begin again: for in religious quarrels, it is of little moment, how few or ſmall the differences are; eſpecially when the diſpute is only about power. Thus the zealous preſbyterians of the North are more alienated from the eſtabliſhed clergy, than from the Romiſh prieſts; taxing the former with idolatrous worſhip, as diſguiſed papiſts, ceremony-mongers, and many other terms of art; and this for a very powerful reaſon; becauſe the clergy ſtand in their way, which the popiſh prieſts do not. Thus I am aſſured, that the quarrel between old and new light-men is managed with more rage and rancour, than any other diſpute of the higheſt importance; and this, becauſe it ſerves to leſſen or increaſe their ſeveral congregations, from whom they receive their contributions.

Another difficulty, which may embarraſs the preſbyterians after their eſtabliſhments, will be, how to adjuſt their claim of the *kirk's* independency on the civil power, with the conſtitution of this monarchy; a point ſo delicate, that it hath often filled the heads of great patriots with dangerous notions of the church-clergy, without the leaſt ground of ſuſpicion.

As to the preſbyterians allowing liberty of conſcience to thoſe of epiſcopal principles when their own *kirk* ſhall be predominant; their writers are ſo univerſally agreed in the negative, as well as their practice during Oliver's reign, that I believe no reaſonable

reaſonable churchman (who muſt then be a diſſenter) will expect it.

I ſhall here take notice, that in the diviſion of employments among the preſbyterians, after this approaching repeal of the teſt-act, ſuppoſing them in proper time to have an equal ſhare, the odds will be three or four to one on their ſide in any farther ſcheme they may have towards making their religion national. For, I reckon all thoſe gentlemen ſent over from England, whatever religion they profeſs or have been educated in, to be of that party: ſince it is no mark of prudence for any perſons to oppoſe the current of a nation, where they are in ſome ſort only ſojourners; unleſs they have it in direction.

If there be any maxim in politics not to be controlled, it muſt be the following: That thoſe whoſe private intereſt is united with the intereſt of their country, ſuppoſing them to be of equal underſtanding with the reſt of their neighbours, will heartily wiſh, that the nation ſhould thrive. Out of theſe are indubitably excepted all perſons, who are ſent from another kingdom to be employed in places of profit or power; becauſe they cannot poſſibly bear any affection to the place where they ſojourn, even for life; their ſole buſineſs being to advance themſelves by following the advice of their *principals*. I except likewiſe thoſe perſons, who are taken into offices, although natives of the land; becauſe they are greater gainers while they keep their offices, than they could

ould poſſibly be by mending the miſerable condi-
on of their country.

I except, *thirdly*, all hopers, who by balancing ccounts with themſelves, turn the ſcale on the ame ſide; becauſe the ſtrong expectation of a ood certain ſalary, will outweigh the loſs by ad rents received out of lands in moneyleſs imes.

If my lords the biſhops, who I hear are now mployed in a ſcheme for regulating the conduct nd maintenance of the inferior clergy, ſhall, in heir wiſdom and piety, and love of the church, conſent to this repeal of the *teſt*, I have not the eaſt doubt, that the whole reverend body will hearfully ſubmit to their ſpiritual fathers; of whoſe paternal tenderneſs for their welfare they have already found ſo many *amazing* inſtances.

I am not therefore under the leaſt concern about the clergy on this account. They will *(for ſome time)* be no great ſufferers by this repeal; becauſe I cannot recollect among all our ſects any one, that giveth latitude enough to take the oaths required at an inſtitution to a church-living; and until that bar ſhall be removed, the preſent epiſcopal clergy are ſafe for two years. Although it may be thought ſomewhat unequal, that in the *northern* parts, where there may be three *diſſenters* to one *churchman*, the whole revenue ſhall be engroſſed by him who hath ſo ſmall a part of the cure.

It is true indeed, that this diſadvantage, which the *diſſenters* at preſent lie under, of a diſability

to receive church-preferments, will be eaſily remedied by the repeal of the *teſt*. For the *diſſenting* teachers are under no incapacity of accepting civil and military employments, wherein they agree perfectly with the *popiſh* clergy; among whom great cardinals and prelates have been commanders of armies, chief miniſters, knights of many orders, ambaſſadors, ſecretaries of ſtate, and in moſt high offices under the crown; although they aſſert the *indelible character*, which no ſectaries among us did ever aſſume. But that many, both *presbyterians* and *independents*, commanders as well as private ſoldiers, were profeſſed preachers in the time of their dominion, is allowed by all. Cromwell himſelf was a preacher; and hath left us one of his ſermons in print, exactly in the ſame ſtyle and manner with thoſe of our modern *presbyterian* teachers: ſo was colonel Howard, Sir George Downing, and ſeveral others whoſe names are on record. I can therefore ſee no reaſon, why a painful *presbyterian* teacher, as ſoon as the *teſt* ſhall be repealed, may not be privileged to hold, along with the ſpiritual office and ſtipend, a commiſſion in the army or the civil liſt in *commendam*: for, as I take it, the church of England is the only body of *Chriſtians*, which in effect diſqualifies thoſe, who are employed to preach its doctrine, from ſharing in the civil power, farther than as ſenators: yet this was a privilege begun in times of *popery*, many hundred years before the *reformation*, and wo-

ven

en with the very inſtitution of our limited mo-
archy.

There is indeed another method, whereby the
ipends of diſſenting teachers may be raiſed, and
ıe farmer much relieved; if it ſhould be thought
roper to reward a people ſo deſerving, and ſo
yal by their principles. Every biſhop, upon the
ıcancy of a church-living, can ſequeſter the pro-
ts for the uſe of the next incumbent. Upon a
pſe of half a year, the donation falls to the
chbiſhop, and after a full year to the crown,
uring pleaſure. Therefore it would be no hard-
ip for any clergyman *alive*, if (in thoſe parts of
eland, where the number of ſectaries much ex-
eeds that of the conformiſts) the profits, when
equeſtered, might be applied to the ſupport of
ne diſſenting teacher, who hath ſo many ſouls to
ake care of; whereby the poor tenants would be
ıuch relieved in thoſe hard times, and in a bet-
er condition to pay their rents.

But there is another difficulty in this matter,
gainſt which a remedy doth not ſo readily occur.
'or ſuppoſing the *teſt-act* repealed, and the diſſen-
ers in conſequence fully qualified for all ſecular
mployments; the queſtion may ſtill be put,
whether thoſe of Ireland will be often the perſons
n whom they ſhall be beſtowed; becauſe it is
magined, there may be * another *ſeminary* in
iew, *more numerous* and *more needy*, as well as
ore meriting, and more eaſily contented with
uch low offices; which ſome nearer neighbours

* Scotland.

hardly think it worth ſtirring from their chimney-ſides to obtain. And I am told, it is the common practice of thoſe who are ſkilled in the management of bees, that when they ſee a foreign ſwarm at ſome diſtance, approaching with an intention to plunder their hives, theſe artiſts have a trick to divert them into ſome neighbouring apiary, there to make what havock they pleaſe. This I ſhould not have hinted, if I had not known it already to have gotten ground in many ſuſpecting heads; for it is the peculiar talent of this nation to ſee dangers afar off: to all which I can only ſay, that our native *presbyterians* muſt by pains and induſtry raiſe ſuch a fund of *merit*, as will anſwer to a birth ſix degrees more to the North. If they cannot arrive at this perfection, as ſeveral of the eſtabliſhed church have compaſſed by indefatigable pains, I do not well ſee, how their affairs will much mend by repealing the *teſt*: for to be qualified by law to accept an employment, and yet to be diſqualified in fact, as it will much increaſe the mortification, ſo it will withdraw the pity of many among their well-wiſhers, and utterly deprive them of that *merit* they have ſo long made, of being a loyal, *true proteſtant* people, perſecuted only for religion.

If this happen to be their caſe, they muſt wait maturity of time; until they can, by prudent, gentle ſteps, make their faith become the religion eſtabliſhed in the nation: after which, I do not in the leaſt doubt, that they will take the moſt effectual methods to ſecure their power againſt

thoſe,

:, who must then be *dissenters* in their turn;
·eof, if we may form a future opinion from
:nt times, and the dispositions of *dissenters*,
love to make a *thorough reformation*, the
ber and qualities will be very inconsiderable.
hus I have, with the utmost sincerity, after
thinking, given my judgment upon this ar-
is affair; but with the utmost deference and
nission to public wisdom and power.

QUERIES relating to the SACRAMENTAL TEST.

Written in the year 1732.

QUERY, WHETHER hatred and violence between parties in a ſtate be not more inflamed by different views of intereſt, than by the greater or leſſer differences between them, either in religion or government?

Whether it be any part of the queſtion at this time, which of the two religions is worſe, *popery* or *fanaticiſm*; or not rather, which of the two (having both the ſame good will) is in the hopefulleſt condition to ruin the church?

Whether the ſectaries, whenever they come to prevail, will not ruin the church as infallibly and effectually as the *papiſts*?

Whether the prevailing ſectaries could allow liberty of conſcience to *diſſenters*, without belying all their former practice, and almoſt all their former writings?

Whether many hundred thouſand Scotch preſbyterians are not full as virulent againſt the epiſcopal church, as they are againſt the *papiſts*; or as they would have us think the *papiſts* are againſt them?

Whether the Dutch, who are moſt diſtinguiſhed for allowing liberty of conſcience, do ever admit any perſons, who profeſs a different ſcheme of worſhip from their own, into civil employments, although they *may* be forced by the nature of their government to receive mercenary troops of all religions?

Whether

Whether the *diſſenters* ever pretended, until of late years, to deſire more than a bare toleration?

Whether, if it be true, what a ſorry pamphleteer aſſerts, who lately writ for repealing the *teſt*, that the *diſſenters* in this kingdom are equally numerous with the churchmen, it would not be a neceſſary point of prudence by all proper and lawful means to prevent their further increaſe?

The great argument given by thoſe, whom they call *low* churchmen, to juſtify the large tolerations allowed to *diſſenters* hath been, that by ſuch indulgencies the rancour of thoſe ſectaries would gradually wear off, many of them would come over to us, and their parties in a little time crumble to nothing.

Query, Whether, if what the above pamphleteer aſſerts, that the ſectaries are equal in numbers with conformiſts be true, it doth not clearly follow, that thoſe repeated tolerations have operated directly contrary to what thoſe *low* church politicians pretended to foreſee and expect?

Whether any clergyman, however dignified or diſtinguiſhed, if he think his own profeſſion moſt agreeable to holy ſcripture and the primitive church, can really wiſh in his heart, that all ſectaries ſhould be upon an equal foot with the churchmen in the point of civil power and employments?

Whether epiſcopacy, which is held by the church to be a divine and apoſtolical inſtitution, be not a fundamental point of religion, particularly in that eſſential one of conferring holy orders?

Whether

Whether by neceſſary conſequences the ſeveral expedients among the ſectaries to conſtitute their teachers are not abſolutely null and void?

Whether the ſectaries will ever agree to accept ordination only from biſhops?

Whether the biſhops and clergy will be content to give up epiſcopacy, as a point indifferent, without which the church can well ſubſiſt?

Whether that great tenderneſs towards ſectaries, which now ſo much prevails, be chiefly owing to the fears of *popery*, or to that ſpirit of Atheiſm, Deiſm, Scepticiſm, and univerſal immorality, which all good men ſo much lament?

Granting *popery* to have many more errors in religion than any one branch of the ſectaries, let us examine the actions of both, as they have each affected the peace of theſe kingdoms, with allowance for the ſhort time which the ſectaries had to act in, who are in a manner *but of yeſterday*. The *papiſts*, in the time of king James II. uſed all endeavours to eſtabliſh their ſuperſtition, wherein they failed by the united power of Engliſh church-proteſtants with the prince of Orange's aſſiſtance. But it cannot be aſſerted, that theſe bigotted *papiſts* had the leaſt deſign to oppoſe or murder the king, much leſs to aboliſh kingly government; nor was it their intereſt or inclination to attempt either.

On the other ſide, the Puritans, who had almoſt from the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign been a perpetual thorn in the church's ſide, joining with the Scotch enthuſiaſts in the time of king Charles the firſt, were the principal cauſe of the

he Iriſh *rebellion* and *maſſacre*, by diſtreſſing that rince, and making it impoſſible for him to ſend ver timely ſuccours. And after that pious rince had ſatisfied his parliament in every ſingle oint to be complained of, the ſame ſectaries, by oiſoning the minds and affections of the people ith the moſt falſe and wicked repreſentations of eir king, were able, in the compaſs of a few ears, to embroil the three nations in a bloody bellion at the expence of many thouſand lives; turn the kingly power into anarchy; to mur- r their prince in the face of the world, and (in eir own ſtyle) to deſtroy the church *root and branch*.

The account, therefore, ſtands thus: The *papiſts* aimed at one pernicious act, which was, to eſtroy the *proteſtant* religion; wherein, by God's ercy, and the aſſiſtance of our glorious king illiam, they abſolutely failed. The ſectaries attempted the three moſt infernal actions that ould poſſibly enter into the hearts of men forſaen by God; which were, the murder of a moſt ious king, the deſtruction of the monarchy, and e extirpation of the church; and ſucceeded in em all.

Upon which I put the following queries: Whether any of thoſe ſectaries have ever yet, in ſolemn public manner, renounced any one of oſe principles, upon which their predeceſſors en acted?

Whether, conſidering the cruel perſecutions of e epiſcopal church, during the courſe of that orrid rebellion, and the conſequences of it, until

til the happy *reſtoration*, it is not manifeſt, that the perſecuting ſpirit lies ſo equally divided between the *papiſts* and the ſectaries, that a feather would turn the balance on either ſide?

And therefore, laſtly, Whether any perſon of common underſtanding, who profeſſeth himſelf a member of the church eſtabliſhed, although, perhaps, with little inward regard to any religion, (which is too often the caſe) if he loves the peace and welfare of his country, can, after cool thinking, rejoice to ſee a power placed again in the hands of ſo reſtleſs, ſo ambitious, and ſo mercileſs a faction, to act over all the ſame parts a ſecond time?

Whether the candour of that expreſſion, ſo frequent, of late, in ſermons and pamphlets, of the *ſtrength and number of the* papiſts *in* Ireland, can be juſtified? For, as to their number, however great, it is always magnified, in proportion to the zeal or politics of the ſpeaker and writer; but, it is a groſs impoſition upon common reaſon, to terrify us with their ſtrength. For *popery*, under the circumſtances it lies in this kingdom, although it be offenſive and inconvenient enough, from the conſequences it hath to encreaſe the rapine, ſloth, and ignorance, as well as poverty of the natives, is not properly dangerous in that ſenſe, as ſome would have us take it; becauſe it is univerſally hated by every party of a different religious profeſſion. It is the contempt of the wiſe; the beſt topic for clamours of deſigning men; but the real terror only of fools. The landed *popiſh* intereſt

reſt in England far exceeds that among us, e-
:n in proportion to the wealth and extent of each
ngdom. The little that remains here, is daily
·opping into *proteſtant* hands, by purchaſe or de-
ent; and that affected complaint of counterfeit
›nverts, will fall, with the cauſe of it, in half a
:neration, unleſs it be raiſed or kept alive as a
›ntinual fund of merit and eloquence. The *papiſts*
·e wholly diſarmed: they have neither courage,
aders, money, or inclinations to rebel: they
ant every advantage, which they formerly poſ-
ſſed, to follow that trade; and wherein, even
ith thoſe advantages, they always miſcarried:
ıey appear very eaſy and ſatisfied under that
›nnivance, which they enjoyed during the whole
ſt reign; nor even ſcrupled to reproach another
arty, under which they pretend to have ſuffered
› much ſeverity.

Upon theſe conſiderations, I muſt confeſs to
ave ſuſpended much of my pity towards the
reat dreaders of *popery*; many of whom appear
› be hale, ſtrong, active young men; who, as I
m told, eat, drink, and ſleep heartily; and are
ery chearful (as they have exceeding good rea-
›n) upon all other ſubjects. However, I cannot
›o much commend the generous concern which
ır neighbours, and others who come from the
ıne neighbourhood, are ſo kind to expreſs for
s upon this account; although the former be
ırther removed from the danger of *popery*, by
wenty leagues of ſalt water: but this, I fear, is a
igreſſion.

When

When an artificial report was raiſed here, many years ago, of an intended invaſion by the *pretender*, (which blew over, after it had done its office) the *diſſenters* argued, in their talk and in their pamphlets, after this manner, applying themſelves to thoſe of the church: Gentlemen, if the *pretender* had landed, as the law now ſtands, we durſt not aſſiſt you; and therefore, unleſs you take off the *teſt*, whenever you ſhall happen to be invaded in earneſt, if we are deſired to take up arms in your defence, our anſwer ſhall be, Pray, gentlemen, fight your own battles; we will lye by quietly; conquer your enemies by yourſelves, if you can; we will not do your drudgery. This way of reaſoning I have heard from ſeveral of their chiefs and abettors, in an hundred converſations; and have read it in twenty pamphlets: and I am confident it will be offered again, if the project ſhould fail to take off the *teſt*.

Upon which piece of oratory and reaſoning I form the following query: Whether, in caſe of an invaſion from the *pretender*, (which is not quite ſo probable as from the *grand ſignior*) the *diſſenters* can, with prudence and ſafety, offer the ſame plea; except they ſhall have made a previous ſtipulation with the invaders? And, whether the full freedom of their religion and trade, their lives, properties, wives and children, are not, and have not always been reckoned, ſufficient motives for repelling invaſions; eſpecially in our ſectaries, who call themſelves the *trueſt proteſtants*, by virtue of their pretended or real fierceneſs againſt *popery*?

Whether

Whether omitting or neglecting to celebrate he day of the martyrdom of the bleſſed king Charles the firſt, enjoined by act of parliament, :an be juſtly reckoned a particular and diſtinguiſhing mark of good affection to the preſent go-/ernment?

Whether, in thoſe churches, where the ſaid day s obſerved, it will fully anſwer the intent of the aid act, if the preacher ſhall commend, excuſe, palliate, or extenuate the murder of that royal martyr; and place the guilt of that horrid rebellion, with all its conſequences, the following uſurpations, the entire deſtruction of the church, the cruel and continual perſecutions of thoſe who could be diſcovered to profeſs its doctrines, with the enſuing Babel of fanaticiſm, to the account of that bleſſed king, who, by granting the petition of right, and paſſing every bill that could be aſked for the ſecurity of the ſubject, had, by the confeſſion of thoſe wicked men, before the war began, left them nothing more to demand?

Whether ſuch a preacher as I have named, (whereof there have been more than *one*, not many years paſt, even in the preſence of viceroys) who takes that courſe as a means for promotion, may not be thought to ſtep a little out of the common road in a monarchy, where the deſcendents of that moſt bleſſed martyr have reigned to this day?

I ground the reaſon of making theſe queries on the title of the act; to which I refer the reader.

REASONS humbly offered to the Parliament of Ireland, for repealing the SACRAMENTAL TEST, in favour of the CATHOLICS. *

Written in the year 1732.

IT is well known, that the firſt conquerors of this kingdom were Engliſh *catholics*, ſubjects to Engliſh *catholic* kings, from whom, by their valour and ſucceſs, they obtained large portions of land, given them as a reward for their many victories over the Iriſh: to which merit, our *brethren*, the diſſenters of any denomination whatſoever, have not the leaſt pretenſions.

It

In the years 1732 and 1733, an attempt was made for repealing the *teſt-act* in Ireland, introductory of a like attempt in England. The various arguments for it were anſwered in every ſhape: but no way more effectually, than by examining what pretence the preſbyterians had to ſhare in all the privileges of government, either from their own principles and behaviour, or compared with thoſe of other ſectaries. Under the former head, they were fully ſilenced by our author, in *The preſbyterians plea of merit impartially examined* [above, p. 237.] They are now put in the balance with papiſts, whom, although they have ſometimes ſtyled their brethren in adverſity, yet, when placed in competition, they will hate as brethren likewiſe. But let them here diſpute the preference, and then put in their claim to be a part of their eſtabliſhment.

* The author having before examined the preſbyterians plea of merit, with reſpect to their own principles and practices, has, in this tract, put them in the balance againſt papiſts. *Hawkeſ.*

The

It is confeſſed, that the poſterity of thoſe firſt ctorious *catholics*, were often forced to riſe in eir own defence, againſt new colonies from ıgland, who treated them like mere native Iriſh, ith innumerable oppreſſions, depriving them of eir lands, and driving them, by force of arms, to the moſt deſolate parts of the kingdom; till the next generation, the children of theſe tyants were uſed in the ſame manner, by new Engh adventurers, which practice continued for any centuries. But it is agreed on all hands, at no inſurrections were ever made, except af- great oppreſſions by freſh invaders. Whereall the rebellions of *puritans*, *preſbyterians*, *indendents*, and other ſectaries, conſtantly began fore any provocations were given, except that ey were not ſuffered to change the government church and ſtate, and ſeize both into their own nds; which however at laſt they did, with the

This tract is written under the aſſumed character of a Roman holic; by which means, the author attacks his adverſaries h a great advantage. He freely acknowledges the ſeveral aious crimes of the papiſts; but, at the ſame time, palliates m ſo ſkilfully, that, from that very acknowledgement, he ens himſelf to aim the heavier blows at the preſbyterians. A agraph extracted from the pamphlet will exemplify my mean- [Here the particular paſſage is quoted, beginning thus, Ve allow the CATHOLICS to be BRETHREN of the diſſenters," *p.* 307. *l.* 31. ending *p.* 308. *l.* 26.]—The greateſt art, and keeneſt ſtrokes of irony, diſplay themſelves throughout the ole compoſition: and the concluſion of it is drawn up with a ture of ſerious and ironical arguments, that ſeem to defy all ls of refutation. *Orrery.*

murder of their king, and of many thouſands of his beſt ſubjects.

The *catholics* were always defenders of monarchy, as conſtituted in theſe kingdoms; whereas, our *brethren* the *diſſenters* were always republicans, both in principle and practice.

It is well known, that all the *catholics* of theſe kingdoms, both prieſts and laity, are true *whigs*, in the beſt and moſt proper ſenſe of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profeſſion, an entire loyalty to the royal houſe of Hanover, in the perſon and poſterity of George II. againſt the *pretender* and all his *adherents*. To which they think themſelves bound in gratitude, as well as conſcience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated ſince the death of queen Anne, ſo different from what they ſuffered in the four laſt years of that princeſs, during the adminiſtration of that *wicked* miniſter, the earl of Oxford.

The *catholics* of this kingdom humbly hope, that they have at leaſt as fair a title as any of their *brother* diſſenters to the appellation of *proteſtants*. They have always *proteſted* againſt the ſelling, dethroning, or murdering their kings; againſt the uſurpations and avarice of the *court* of Rome; againſt *deiſm*, *atheiſm*, *Socinianiſm*, *quakeriſm*, *Muggletonianiſm*, *fanaticiſm*, *Brownıſm*, as well as againſt all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics. Whereas the title of *proteſtants* aſſumed by the whole herd of diſſenters (except ourſelves) dependeth entirely upon their *proteſting againſt archbiſhops*,

biſhops, biſhops, deans and chapters, with their revenues; and the whole hierarchy; which are the very expreſſions uſed in the *ſolemn league and covenant*, * where the word *popery* is only mentioned *ad invidiam*; becauſe the *catholics* agree with the epiſcopal church in thoſe fundamentals.

Although the *catholics* cannot deny, that in the great rebellion againſt king Charles I. more ſoldiers of their religion were in the parliament army than in his majeſty's troops; and that many jeſuits and friars went about in the diſguiſe of *presbyterian* and *independent* miniſters to preach up rebellion, as the beſt hiſtorians of thoſe times inform us; yet the bulk of *catholics* in both kingdoms preſerved their loyalty entire.

The *catholics* have ſome reaſon to think it a little hard, when their enemies will not pleaſe to diſtinguiſh between the rebellious riot committed by that brutal ruffian Sir Phelim O'Neal with his tumultuous crew of rabble, and the forces raiſed afterwards by the *catholic* lords and gentlemen of the Engliſh pale in defence of the king, after the Engliſh rebellion began. It is well known, that his majeſty's affairs were in great diſtraction ſome time before by an invaſion of the *covenanting* Scottiſh *kirk rebels*, and by the baſe terms the king

* A ſolemn league and covenant entered into between the Scots and Engliſh fanatics in the rebellion againſt King Charles I. 1643. by which they ſolemnly engaged, among other things, "to endea- "vour the extirpation of prelacy, that is, church government by "archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, archdeans, and all other epiſcopal "officers depending on that hierarchy." *Hawkeſ.*

was forced to accept, that they might be kept in quiet at a juncture when he was every hour threatened at home by that fanatic party, which ſoon after ſet all in a flame. And if the *catholic* army in Ireland fought for their king againſt the forces ſent over by the parliament then in actual rebellion againſt him, what perſon of loyal principles can be ſo partial to deny, that they did their duty by joining with the Marquis of Ormond and other commanders, who bore their commiſſions from the king? for which great numbers of them loſt their lives, and forfeited their eſtates; a great part of the latter being now poſſeſſed by many deſcendants from thoſe very men, who had drawn their ſwords in the ſervice of that rebellious parliament which cut off his head, and deſtroyed monarchy. And, what is more amazing, although the ſame perſons, when the Iriſh were intirely ſubdued, continued in power under the *rump*, were chief confidents, and faithful ſubjects to Cromwell; yet being wiſe enough to foreſee a *reſtoration*, they ſeized the forts and caſtles here out of the hands of their *old brethren in rebellion*, for the ſervice of the king; juſt ſaving the tide, and putting in a ſtock of merit ſufficient not only to preſerve the land which the *catholics* loſt by their loyalty, but likewiſe to preſerve their civil and military employments, or be higher advanced.

Thoſe inſurrections wherewith the *catholics* are charged, from the beginning of the ſeventeenth century to the great Engliſh rebellion, were occaſioned

ſioned by many oppreſſions they lay under. ıey had no intention to introduce a *new* relion, but to enjoy the liberty of preſerving the ! : the very ſame which their anceſtors profeſſed ım the time that *chriſtianity* was firſt introduced :o this iſland, which was by *catholics*; but whe-ɛr mingled with corruptions, as ſome pretend, th not belong to the queſtion. They had no ſign to change the government; they never :empted to fight againſt, to impriſon, to betray, fell, to bring to a trial, or to murder their king. ıe ſchiſmatics acted by a ſpirit directly contrary; ɛy united in a *ſolemn league and covenant* to alter ɛ whole ſyſtem of ſpiritual government eſtaſhed in all chriſtian nations, and of apoſtolic ſtitution; concluding the tragedy with the urder of the king in cold blood, and upon mare déliberation; at the ſame time changing the onarchy into a commonwealth.

The *catholics* of Ireland in the great rebellion ſt their eſtates for fighting in defence of their ng. The ſchiſmatics, who cut off the father's ad, forced the ſon to fly for his life, and overrned the whole ancient frame of government, ligious and civil; obtained grants of thoſe very ates, which the *catholics* loſt in defence of the tient conſtitution, many of which eſtates are this day poſſeſſed by the poſterity of thoſe ſchiſrtics: and thus they gained by their *rebellion*, ıat the *catholics* loſt by their *loyalty*.

We allow the *catholics* to be *brethren* of the ſenters; ſome people, indeed, (which we cannot

not allow would have *them* to be our children, because we both differ from the church eſtabliſhed, and both agree in aboliſhing this perſecuting ſacramental teſt; by which *negative diſcouragement* we are both rendered incapable of civil and military employments. However, we cannot but wonder at the bold familiarity of theſe ſchiſmatics, in calling the members of the national church their *brethren* and *fellow proteſtants*. It is true, that all theſe ſects (except the *catholics*) are *brethren* to each other in faction, ignorance, iniquity, perverſeneſs, pride, and (if we except the *quakers*) in rebellion. But, how the church-men can be ſtiled their *fellow proteſtants*, we cannot comprehend: becauſe, when the whole Babel of ſectaries joined againſt the church, the king, and the nobility, for twenty years, in a MATCH AT FOOT-BALL, where the proverb expreſsly tells us, that *all are* FELLOWS; while the three kingdoms were toſſed to and fro, the churches and cities, and royal palaces, ſhattered to pieces by their *balls*, their *buffets*, and their *kicks*; the victors would allow no more FELLOWS AT FOOT-BALL; but murdered, ſequeſtered, plundered, deprived, baniſhed to the plantations, or enſlaved all their oppoſers who had *loſt the game*.

It is ſaid the world is governed by *opinion*; and politicians aſſure us, that all power is founded thereupon. Wherefore, as all human creatures are fond to diſtraction of their own opinions, and ſo much the more, as thoſe opinions are abſurd, ridiculous, or of little moment, it muſt follow, that

that they are equally fond of power. But no opinions are maintained with ſo much obſtinacy as thoſe in religion, eſpecially by ſuch zealots, who never bore the leaſt regard to religion, conſcience, honour, juſtice, truth, mercy, or common morality, farther than in outward appearance, under the maſk of hypocriſy, to promote their diabolical deſigns. And therefore, Biſhop Burnet, one of their oracles, tells us honeſtly, that the *ſaints* of thoſe fanatic times pronounced themſelves above morality; which they reckoned among *beggarly elements;* but the meaning of theſe two laſt words, thus applied, we confeſs to be above our underſtanding.

Among thoſe kingdoms and ſtates which firſt embraced the reformation, England appears to have received it in the moſt regular way; where it was introduced in a peaceable manner, by the ſupreme power of a king, * and the three eſtates in parliament; to which, as the higheſt legiſlative authority, all ſubjects are bound paſſively to ſubmit. Neither was there much bloodſhed on ſo great a change of religion. But a conſiderable number of lords, and other perſons of quality through the kingdom, ſtill continued in their old faith, and were, notwithſtanding their difference in religion, employed in offices, civil as well as military, more or leſs in every reign, until the teſt act in the time of king Charles II. However, from the time of the reformation, the number of *catholics* gradually and conſiderably leſſened. So that,

* Henry VIII.

that, in the reign of king Charles I. England b
came in a great degree a proteſtant kingdo
without taking the ſectaries into the numb
the legality whereof, with reſpect to human la
the *catholics* never diſputed; but the *puritans*, a
other ſchiſmatics, without the leaſt pretence
any ſuch authority, by an open rebellion, deſtr
ed that legal reformation, as we obſerved beſo
murdered their king, and changed the monarc
into a republic. It is therefore not to be wond
ed at, if the *catholics*, in ſuch a Babel of religio
choſe to adhere to their own faith left them
their anceſtors, rather than ſeek for a better
mong a rabble of hypocritical, rebellious, delu
ing knaves, or deluded enthuſiaſts.

We repeat once more, That if a national re
gion be changed by the ſupreme legiſlative pow
we cannot diſpute the human legality of ſuch
change. But we humbly conceive, that if a
conſiderable party of men which differs from
eſtabliſhment, either old or new, can deſerve
berty of conſcience, it ought to conſiſt of thoſ
who, for want of conviction, or of right unde
ſtanding the merits of each cauſe, conceive ther
ſelves bound in conſcience to adhere to the re
gion of their anceſtors; becauſe they are of
others leaſt likely to be authors of innovations e
ther in church or ſtate.

On the other ſide: if the reformation of re
gion be founded upon rebellion againſt the kin
without whoſe conſent, by the nature of our co
ſtitution, no law can paſs; if this reformation
introduc

oduced by only one of the three eſtates, I
in the commons, and not by one half even of
e commons, and this by the aſſiſtance of a
illious army; again, if this reformation were
ied on by the excluſion of nobles both lay and
itual, (who conſtitute the other part of the
e eſtates) by the murder of their king, and by
liſhing the whole ſyſtem of government; the
olics cannot ſee why the ſucceſſors of thoſe
ſmatics, who are univerſally accuſed by all
ties except themſelves, and a few infamous a-
tors, for ſtill retaining the ſame principles in
gion and government, under which their pre-
eſſors acted, ſhould pretend to a better ſhare
ivil or military truſt, profit, and power, than
catholics, who during all that period of twenty
rs, were continually perſecuted with the ut-
ſt ſeverity, merely on account of their loyalty
l conſtant adherence to kingly power.

We now come to thoſe arguments for repeal-
the ſacramental teſt, which equally affect
catholics, and their brethren the diſſenters.

Firſt, we agree with our fellow-diſſenters, that
*erſecution merely for conſcience' ſake is againſt the
ius of the goſpel.* And ſo likewiſe is *any law for
riving men of their natural and civil rights,
ich they claim as men.* We are alſo ready e-
igh to allow, that *the ſmalleſt negative diſcou-
ements for uniformity's ſake are ſo many perſe-
ions.* Becauſe, it cannot be denied, that the
itch of a pin is in ſome degree a real wound,

a

Vid. Reaſons for the repeal of the ſacramental teſt

as much as a ſtab through the heart. In like manner, an incapacity by law for any man to be made a judge, a colonel, or juſtice of the peace, *merely on a point of conſcience, is a negative diſcouragement*, and conſequently a real perſecution: for in this caſe, the author of the pamphlet quoted in the * margin, puts a very pertinent and powerful queſtion: *If God be the ſole Lord of the conſcience, why ſhould the rights of conſcience be ſubject to human juriſdiction?* Now, to apply this to the *catholics:* The belief of tranſubſtantiation *is a matter purely of religion and conſcience, which doth not affect the political intereſt of ſociety, as ſuch: therefore, why ſhould the rights of conſcience, whereof* God *is the ſole* Lord, *be ſubject to human juriſdiction?* And why ſhould God be deprived of this right over a *catholic's* conſcience, any more than over that of any other diſſenter?

And whereas another author among our brethren the diſſenters hath very juſtly complained, that by this perſecuting teſt-act great numbers of *true proteſtants* have been forced to leave the kingdom and fly to the plantations, rather than ſtay here *branded* with an incapacity for civil and military employments; we do affirm, that the *catholics* can bring many more inſtances of the ſame kind; ſome thouſands of their religion having been forced by the ſacramental teſt to retire into other countries, rather than live here under the incapacity of wearing ſwords, ſitting in parliament, and getting ſhare of that power and profit which

* See reaſons againſt the teſt.

which belong to them as *fellow chriſtians*, where-of they are deprived *merely upon account of conſcience, which would not allow them to take the ſacrament after the manner preſcribed in the liturgy.* Hence it clearly follows in the words of the ſame * author, that *if we* catholics *are incapable of employments, we are puniſhed for our diſſent, that is, for our conſcience, which wholly turns upon political conſiderations.*

The *catholics* are willing to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, whenever their brethren the diſſenters ſhall pleaſe to ſhew them an example.

Further, the *catholics*, whenever their religion ſhall come to be the national eſtabliſhed faith, are willing to undergo the ſame *teſt* offered by the author already quoted. His words are theſe: *To end this debate, by putting it upon a foot which I hope will appear to every impartial perſon a fair and equitable one; we* catholics *propoſe, with ſubmiſſion to the proper judges, that effectual ſecurity be taken againſt perſecution, by obliging all, who are admitted into places of power and truſt, whatever their religious profeſſion be, in the moſt ſolemn manner to diſclaim perſecuting principles.* It is hoped the public will take notice of theſe words, *whatever their religious profeſſion be;* which plainly include the *catholics;* and for which we return thanks to *our diſſenting brethren.*

And whereas it is objected by thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, that if the ſchiſmatics and fanatics were once put into a capacity of poſſeſſing

* See reaſons againſt the teſt.

civil and military employments, they would never be at eaſe, till they had raiſed their own way of worſhip into the national religion through all his majeſty's dominions, equal with the *true orthodox Scottiſh kirk*; which when they had once brought to paſs, they would no more allow liberty of conſcience to epiſcopal diſſenters, than they did in the time of the great Engliſh rebellion, and in the ſucceeding fanatic anarchy, till the king was reſtored. There is another very learned ſchiſmatical * pamphleteer, who in anſwer to a malignant libel, called, *The preſbyterian plea of merit, &c.* clearly wipes off this aſperſion, by aſſuring all epiſcopal proteſtants of the preſent church, upon his own word, and to his own knowledge, that our brethren the diſſenters will never offer at ſuch an attempt. In like manner the *catholics*, when legally required, will openly declare *upon their words and honours*, that as ſoon as their *negative diſcouragements* and their *perſecution* ſhall be removed by repealing the ſacramental teſt, they will leave it entirely to the merits of the cauſe, whether the kingdom ſhall think fit to make their faith the eſtabliſhed religion or not.

And again, whereas our *presbyterian* brethren in many of their pamphlets take much offence, that the great rebellion in England, the murder of the king, with the entire change of religion and government, are perpetually objected againſt them both in and out of ſeaſon, by our common enemy the preſent conformiſts; we do declare in the defence

* Vindication of the Proteſtant Diſſenters.

:fence of our ſaid brethern, that the reproach a-
reſaid is *an old worn-out thread-bare cant*, which
ey always diſdained to anſwer: and I very well
member, that having once told a certain con-
rmiſt, how much I wondered to hear him and
is tribe dwelling perpetually on ſo beaten a ſub-
ct; he was pleaſed to divert the diſcourſe with
fooliſh ſtory, which I cannot forbear telling to
is diſgrace. He ſaid, there was a clergyman
1 Yorkſhire, who for fifteen years together
reached every Sunday againſt drunkenneſs:
hereat the pariſhioners being much offended,
omplained to the archbiſhop; who having ſent
or the clergyman, and ſeverely reprimanded him,
he miniſter had no better an anſwer than by con-
eſſing the fact; adding, that all the pariſh were
runkards; that he deſired to reclaim them from
ne vice, before he would begin upon another;
nd ſince they ſtill continued to be as great drunk-
rds as before, he reſolved to go on, except his
race would pleaſe to forbid him.

We are very ſenſible how heavy an accuſation
ieth upon the *catholics* of Ireland; that ſome years
efore king Charles II. was reſtored, when theirs
nd the king's forces were entirely reduced, and
he kingdom declared by the *rump* to be ſettled;
fter all his majeſty's generals were forced to fly
o France, or other countries, the heads of the
aid *catholics*, who remained here in an enſlaved
ondition, joined to ſend an invitation to the
Duke of Lorrain; engaging, upon his appearing
ere with his forces, to deliver up the whole

iſland to his power, and declare him their ſovereign; which, after the reſtoration, was proved againſt them by dean Boyle, ſince primate, who produced the very original inſtrument at the board. The *catholics* freely acknowledge the fact to be true; and at the ſame time appeal to all the world, whether a wiſer, a better, a more honourable, or a more juſtifiable project could have been thought of. They were then reduced to ſlavery and beggary by the Engliſh rebels, many thouſands of men murdered, the reſt deprived of their eſtates, and driven to live on a ſmall pittance in the wilds of Connaught, at a time when either the *rump* or Cromwell abſolutely governed the three kingdoms. And the queſtion will turn upon this, whether the *catholics*, deprived of all their poſſeſſions, governed with a rod of iron, and in utter deſpair of ever ſeeing the monarchy reſtored, for the preſervation of which they had ſuffered ſo much, were to be blamed for calling in a foreign prince of their own religion, who had a conſiderable army to ſupport them, rather than ſubmit to ſo infamous an uſurper as Cromwell, or ſuch a bloody and ignominious conventicle as the *rump*. And I have often heard not only our friends the diſſenters, but even our common enemy the conformiſts, who are converſant in the hiſtory of thoſe times, freely confeſs, that conſidering the miſerable ſituation the Iriſh were then in, they could not have thought of a braver or more virtuous attempt; by which they might have been inſtruments of reſtoring the lawful monarch, at leaſt

leaſt to the recovery of England and Scotland, from thoſe betrayers and ſellers and murderers of his royal father.

To conclude, whereas the laſt quoted author complains very heavily and frequently of a BRAND that lies upon them, it is a great miſtake: for the firſt original BRAND hath been long taken off; only we confeſs the ſcar will probably remain, and be viſible for ever to thoſe who know the principles by which they acted, and until thoſe principles ſhall be openly renounced; elſe it muſt continue to all generations, like the mark ſet upon Cain, which ſome authors ſay deſcended to all his poſterity; or like the Roman noſe and Auſtrian lip, or like the long bag of fleſh hanging down from the gills of the people in Piedmont. But as for any *brands* fixed on ſchiſmatics for ſeveral years paſt, they have been all made with *cold iron*; like thieves who by the benefit of the clergy are condemned to be only burned in the hand; but eſcape the pain and the mark by being in *fee* with the jailor. Which advantage the ſchiſmatical teachers will never want, who, as we are aſſured, and of which there is a *very freſh inſtance*, have the ſouls and bodies and purſes of their people a hundred times more at their mercy, than the *catholic* prieſts could ever pretend to.

Therefore, upon the whole, the *catholics* do humbly petition *(without the leaſt inſinuation of threatening)* that upon this *favourable* juncture their incapacity for civil and military employments may be wholly taken off, for the very ſame

In this controverſy the author was again victorious *teſt* was not repealed. *Hawkeſ.*

Some REASONS againſt the BILL for ſettling the tythe of *Hemp*, *Flax*, &c. by a *Modus* *.

THE clergy did little expect to have any cauſe of complaint againſt the preſent houſe of commons; who, in the laſt ſeſſions, were pleaſed to throw out a bill † ſent them from the lords, which that reverend body apprehended would be very injurious to them, if it paſſed into a law: and who, in the preſent ſeſſions, defeated the arts and endeavours of *ſchiſmatics* to repeal the *ſacramental teſt*.

For although it hath been allowed on all hands, that the former of thoſe bills might, by its neceſſary conſequences, be very diſpleaſing to the lay gentlemen of the kingdom for many reaſons purely ſecular; and that this laſt attempt for repealing the *teſt* did much more affect at preſent the temporal intereſt, than the ſpiritual; yet the whole body of the lower clergy have, upon both thoſe occaſions, expreſſed equal gratitude to that honourable

* Many eminent clergymen, who oppoſed this ſcheme, applied to Dr. Swift to write againſt it, which he readily conſented to upon their giving him ſome hints: and two days after, the following reaſons were preſented to ſeveral members of parliament, which had ſo good an effect that the bill was dropped. *Hawkeſ.*

This pamphlet is entirely adapted to the clergy of Ireland. But I cannot avoid obſerving in it, a greater fund of calmneſs, not a leſs degree of ſpirit, than in many other of Swift's political writings. *Orrery.*

† For the biſhops to divide livings. *Hawkeſ.*

honourable houſe for their juſtice and ſteadineſs, as if the clergy alone were to receive the benefit.

It muſt needs be therefore a great addition to the clergy's grief, that ſuch an aſſembly as the preſent houſe of commons ſhould now, with an expedition more than uſual, agree to a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture, with a clauſe, whereby the church is to loſe two parts in three of the legal tythe in flax and hemp.

Some reaſons why the clergy think ſuch a law will be a great hardſhip upon them, are, I conceive, theſe that follow. I ſhall venture to enumerate them, with all deference due to that honourable aſſembly.

Firſt, the clergy ſuppoſe that they have not, by any fault or demerit, incurred the diſpleaſure of the nation's repreſentatives: neither can the declared loyalty of the preſent ſet, from the higheſt prelate to the loweſt vicar, be in the leaſt diſputed: becauſe there are hardly ten clergymen through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years paſt, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the ſame merit.

There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom reſiding ſome part of the year at his country ſeat, who is not in his own conſcience fully convinced, that the tythes of his miniſter have gradually ſunk for ſome years paſt one-third, or at leaſt one fourth of their former value, excluſive of all non-livings.

The

The payment of tythes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from *papists* and *dissenters*, but even from those who profess themselves *protestants*; that by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are of all other rents the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid.

The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tythes for the lands they hold in their own hands; which often consist of large domains: and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants.

The clergy cannot but think it extremely severe, that in a bill for encouraging the linen manufacture they alone must be the sufferers, who can least afford it. If, as I am told, there be a tax of three thousand pounds a-year paid by the public for a farther encouragement to the said manufacture, are not the clergy equal sharers in the charge with the rest of their fellow-subjects? What satisfactory reason can be therefore given, why they alone should bear the whole additional weight, unless it will be alledged that their property is not upon an equal foot with the properties of other men? They acquire their own small pittance by at least as honest means as their neighbours, the landlords, possess their estates; and have been always supposed,

poſed, except in rebellious or fanatical times, to have as good a title: for no families now in being can ſhew a more ancient. Indeed if it be true, that ſome perſons (I hope they were not many) were ſeen to laugh when the rights of the clergy were mentioned; in this caſe an opinion may poſſibly be ſoon advanced, that they have no rights at all. And this is likely enough to gain ground, in proportion as the contempt of all religion ſhall increaſe, which is already in a very forward way.

It is ſaid, there will be alſo added in this bill, a clauſe for diminiſhing the tythe of hops, in order to cultivate that uſeful plant among us: and here likewiſe the load is to lie entirely on the ſhoulders of the clergy, while the landlords reap all the benefits. It will not be eaſy to foreſee where ſuch proceedings are like to ſtop: or whether by the ſame authority, in civil times, a parliament may not as juſtly challenge the ſame power in reducing all things tythable, not below the tenth part of the product (which is, and ever will be the clergy's equitable right) but from a tenth part to a ſixtieth or eightieth, and from thence to nothing.

I have heard it granted by ſkilful perſons, that the practice of taxing the clergy by parliament, without their own conſent, is a new thing, not much above the date of ſeventy years; before which period, in times of peace, they always taxed themſelves. But things are extremely altered at preſent: it is not now ſufficient to tax them

em in common with their fellow-ſubjects, thout impoſing an additional tax upon them, om which, or from any thing equivalent, all eir fellow-ſubjects are exempt; and this in a untry profeſſing *chriſtianity*.

The greateſt part of the clergy throughout the igdom have been ſtript of their glebes by the nfuſion of times, by violence, fraud, oppreſſion, d other unlawful means; all which glebes are w in the hands of the laity. So that they now : generally forced to lie at the mercy of land-ds for a ſmall piece of ground in their pariſhes, a moſt exorbitant rent, and uſually for a ſhort m of years, whereon to build a houſe, and able them to reſide. Yet, in ſpite of theſe advantages, I am a witneſs, that they are ge-rally more conſtant reſidents than their bre-en in England; where the meaneſt vicar hath convenient dwelling, with a barn, a garden, and ield or two for his cattle; beſides the certainty his little income from honeſt farmers, able d willing not only to pay him his dues, but ewiſe to make him preſents, according to their ility, for his better ſupport. In all which cir-mſtances, the clergy of Ireland meet with a atment directly contrary.

It is hoped the honourable houſe will conſider, at it is impoſſible for the moſt ill-minded, ava-ious, or cunning clergyman to do the leaſt in-ſtice to the meaneſt cottager in his pariſh in y bargain for tythes, or other eccleſiaſtical dues. e can at the utmoſt only demand to have his tythe

tythe fairly laid out; and does not once in a hundred times obtain his demand. But every tenant, from the pooreſt cottager to the moſt ſubſtantial farmer, can, and generally doth, impoſe upon the miniſter, by fraud, by theft, by lies, by perjuries, by inſolence, and ſometimes by force; notwithſtanding the utmoſt vigilance and ſkill of himſelf and his proctor. Inſomuch, that it is allowed that the clergy, in general, receive little more than one half of their legal dues; not including the charges they are at in collecting or bargaining for them.

The land rents of Ireland are computed to about two millions, whereof one-tenth amounts to two hundred thouſand pounds. The beneficed clergymen, excluding thoſe of this city, are not reckoned to be above five hundred; by which computation they ſhould each of them poſſeſs two hundred pounds a-year, if thoſe tythes were equally divided, although in well cultivated corn countries it ought to be more; whereas they hardly receive one half of that ſum, with great defalcations, and in very bad payments. There are indeed a few glebes in the north pretty conſiderable, but if theſe and all the reſt were in like manner equally divided, they would not add five pounds a-year to every clergyman. Therefore, whether the condition of the clergy in general among us be juſtly liable to envy, or able to bear a heavy burden, which neither the nobility nor gentry, nor tradeſmen nor farmers, will touch

touch with one of their fingers; this, I ſay, is ſubmitted to the honourable houſe.

One terrible circumſtance in this bill is, that of turning the tythe of *flax* and *hemp* into what the lawyers call a *modus*, or a certain ſum in lieu of a tenth part of the product. And by this practice of claiming a *modus* in many pariſhes by ancient cuſtom, the clergy in both kingdoms have been almoſt incredible ſufferers. Thus, in the preſent caſe, the tythe of a tolerable acre of *flax*, which by a medium is worth twelve ſhillings, is by the preſent bill reduced to four ſhillings. Neither is this the worſt part in a *modus*; every determinate ſum muſt, in proceſs of time, ſink from a fourth to a four and twentieth part, or a great deal lower, by that neceſſary fall attending the value of money, which is now at leaſt nine-tenths lower all over Europe than it was four hundred years ago, by a gradual decline; and even a third part at leaſt within our own memories, in purchaſing almoſt every thing required for the neceſſities or conveniencies of life; as any gentleman can atteſt, who hath kept houſe for twenty years paſt. And this will equally affect poor countries as well as rich. For, although I look upon it as an impoſſibility that this kingdom ſhould ever thrive under its preſent diſadvantages, which without a miracle muſt ſtill increaſe; yet when the whole caſh of the nation ſhall ſink to fifty thouſand pounds, we muſt in all our traffic abroad, either of import or export, go by the general rate, at which money is valued in thoſe coun-

tries, that enjoy the common privileges of human kind. For this reaſon, no corporation (if the clergy may preſume to call themſelves one) ſhould by any means grant away their properties in perpetuity, upon any conſideration whatſoever; which is a rock that many corporations have ſplit upon, to their great impoveriſhment, and ſometimes to their utter undoing; becauſe they are ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt for ever, and becauſe no determination of money is of any certain perpetual intrinſic value. This is known enough in England, where eſtates let for ever, ſome hundred years ago, by ſeveral ancient noble families, do not at this preſent pay their poſterity a twentieth part of what they are now worth at an eaſy rent.

A tax affecting one part of a nation, which already bears its full ſhare in all parliamentary impoſitions, cannot poſſibly be juſt, except it be inflicted as a puniſhment upon that body of men, which is taxed, for ſome great demerit or danger to the public apprehended from thoſe upon whom it is laid: thus, the *papiſts* and *non-jurors* have been doubly taxed for refuſing to give proper ſecurities to the government; which cannot be objected againſt the clergy. And therefore, if this bill ſhould paſs, I think it ought to be with a preface, ſhewing wherein they have offended, and for what diſaffection or other crime they are puniſhed.

If an additional exciſe upon ale, or a duty upon fleſh and bread were to be enacted, neither the victualler, butcher, or baker, would bear any more

of the charge than for what themſelves con-
l; but it would be an equal general tax
gh the whole kingdom: whereas, by this
he clergy alone are avowedly condemned to
rived of their ancient, inherent, undiſput-
hts, in order to encourage a manufacture
ich all the reſt of the kingdom are ſuppoſed
gainers.

is bill is directly againſt *magna charta*,
of the firſt clauſe is for confirming the
able rights of holy church; as well as con-
to the oath taken by all our kings at their
ation, where they ſwear to defend and pro-
ne church in all rights.

ax laid upon employments, is a very diffe-
hing. The poſſeſſors of civil and military
yments are no corporation: neither are
any part of our conſtitution; their ſalaries,
and perquiſites are all changeable, at the
re of the prince who beſtows them, al-
h the army be paid from funds raiſed and
priated by the legiſlature. But the clergy,
y have little reaſon to expect, ſo they deſire
ore than their ancient legal dues; only, in-
with the removal of many grievous impe-
nts in the collection of them; which, it is
feared, they muſt wait for until more fa-
ble times. It is well known, that they have
ly, of their own accord, ſhewn great in-
nce to their people upon this very article of
ſeldom taking above a fourth part of their
for ſmall parcels, and oftentimes nothing at

all from new beginners: waiting with patience until the farmers were able, and until great quantities of land were employed in that part of husbandry; never ſuſpecting, that their good intentions ſhould be perverted in ſo ſingular a manner to their detriment by that very aſſembly which, during the time that convocations (whicl are an original part of our conſtitution, ever ſinc *chriſtianity* became national among us) are though fit to be ſuſpended, God knows for what reaſon or from what provocations; I ſay, from that ver aſſembly, who, during the intervals of convoca tions, ſhould rather be ſuppoſed to be guardian of the rights and properties of the clergy, than t make the leaſt attempt upon either.

I have not heard, upon inquiry, that any thoſe gentlemen, who, among us, without doors are called the court-party, diſcover the leaſt ze in this affair. If they had thoughts to interpoſ it might be conceived they would ſhew their di pleaſure againſt this bill, which muſt very muc leſſen the value of the king's patronage, upo promotion to vacant ſees, in the diſpoſal of dean ries, and other conſiderable preferments in th church, which are in the donation of the crown whereby the viceroys will have fewer good pr ferments to beſtow on their dependents, as we as upon the kindred of members, who may hav a ſufficient ſtock of that ſort of merit, whatever may be, which may in future times moſt preva

The *diſſenters*, by not ſucceeding in their en deavours to procure a repeal of the *teſt*, have lo nothing

nothing, but continue in a full enjoyment of their toleration; while the clergy, without giving the leaſt offence, are, by this bill, deprived of a conſiderable branch of their ancient legal rights; whereby the ſchiſmatical party will have the pleaſure of gratifying their revenge——*hoc Graii vouere.*

The farmer will find no relief by this *modus*; becauſe, when his preſent leaſe ſhall expire, his landlord will infallibly raiſe the rent in an equal proportion upon every part of land where flax is ſown, and have ſo much a better ſecurity for payment at the expence of the clergy.

If we judge by things paſt, it little avails that this bill is to be limited to a certain time, of ten, twenty, or thirty years. For no landlord will ever conſent, that a law ſhall expire, by which he finds himſelf a gainer; and of this there are many examples, as well in England as in this kingdom.

The great end of this bill, is, by proper encouragement, to extend the linen manufacture into thoſe countries where it hath hitherto been little cultivated: but this encouragement of *leſſening the tithe of flax and hemp*, is one of ſuch a kind, as, it is to be feared, will have a directly contrary effect: Becauſe, if I am rightly informed, no ſet of men hath, for their number and fortunes, been more induſtrious and ſucceſsful than the clergy, in introducing that manufacture into places which were unacquainted with it, by perſuading their people to ſow *flax* and *hemp*, by pro-

come lofers by their extraordinary care
ing their beſt arable lands turned to *flax*
which are reckoned great impoveriſhers
they cannot, therefore, be blamed, if th
ſhew as much zeal to prevent its bei
duced or improved in their pariſhes, as
therto have ſhewed in the introducing
proving it. This, I am told, ſome of t
already declared, at leaſt ſo far as to re
to give themſelves any more trouble t
men, about promoting a manufacture, b
ceſs of which, they only, of all men,
ſufferers. Perhaps the giving even a fu
couragement than the law doth, as it no
to a ſet of men who might, on many
be ſo uſeful to this purpoſe, would be no
thod of having the great end of the bill
fectually anſwered: but this is what th
from deſiring; all they petition for, i
than to continue on the ſame footing

which *flax* and *hemp* are ſown, but alſo ſettle the price of ſurveying, and determine, whether the incumbent or farmer is to pay for each annual ſurvey. Without ſomething of this kind, there muſt conſtantly be diſputes between them, and the neighbouring juſtices of peace muſt be teazed as often as thoſe diſputes happen.

I had written thus far, when a paper was ſent to me, with ſeveral reaſons againſt the bill; ſome whereof, although they have been already touched, are put in a better light, and the reſt did not occur to me. I ſhall deliver them in the author's own words.

I. That tithes are the patrimony of the church; and, if not of divine original, yet at leaſt of great antiquity.

II. That all purchaſes and leaſes of tytheable lands, for many centuries paſt, have been made and taken, ſubject to the demand of tythes, and thoſe lands ſold and taken juſt ſo much the cheaper on that account.

III. That if any lands are exempted from tithes, or the legal demands of ſuch tithes leſſened by act of parliament, ſo much value is taken from the proprietor of the tithes, and veſted in the proprietor of the lands, or his head tenants.

IV. That no innocent unoffending perſon can be ſo deprived of his property, without the greateſt violation of common juſtice.

V. That to do this upon a proſpect of encouraging the linen or any other manufacture, is acting upon a very miſtaken and unjuſt ſuppoſition; inaſmuch

inaſmuch as the price of the lands ſo occupied, will be no way leſſened to the farmer by ſuch a law.

VI. That the clergy are content chearfully to bear (as they now do) any burden in common with their fellow ſubjects, either for the ſupport of his majeſty's government, or the encouragement of the trade of the nation, but think it very hard that they ſhould be ſingled out to pay heavier taxes than others, at a time, when, by the decreaſe of the value of their pariſhes, they are leſs able to bear them.

VII. That the legiſlature hath heretofore diſtinguiſhed the clergy by exemptions, and not by additional loads; and the preſent clergy of the kingdom hope they have not deſerved worſe of the legiſlature than their predeceſſors.

VIII. That by the original conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, the clergy had the ſole right of taxing themſelves, and were in poſſeſſion of that right as low as the reſtoration; and if that right be now devolved upon the commons by the ceſſion of the clergy, the commons can be conſidered in this caſe in no other light than as the guardians of the clergy.

IX. That beſides thoſe tythes always in the poſſeſſion of the clergy, there are ſome portions of tythes lately come into their poſſeſſion by purchaſe; that if this clauſe ſhould take place, they would not be allowed the benefit of theſe purchaſes upon an equal foot of advantage with the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects. And that ſome tythes in the hands of impropriators are under ſettlements and mortgages.

X. That

X. That the gentlemen of this houſe ſhould conſider, that loading the clergy is loading their own younger brothers and children, with this additional grievance, that it is taking from the younger and poorer to give to the elder and richer; and,

Laſtly, That if it were at any time juſt and proper to do this, it would however be too ſevere to do it now, when all the tythes of the kingdom are known for ſome years paſt to have ſunk above one third part in their value.

Any income in the hands of the clergy, is at leaſt as uſeful to the public as the ſame income in the hands of the laity.

It were more reaſonable to grant the clergy, in three parts of the nation, an additional ſupport, than to diminiſh their preſent ſubſiſtence.

Great employments are and will be in the hands of Engliſhmen; nothing left for the younger ſons of Iriſhmen but vicarages, tide-waiters places, *&c.* therefore no reaſon to make them worſe.

The *modus* upon the *flax* in England, affects only lands reclaimed ſince the year 1690, and is at the rate of five ſhillings the Engliſh acre, which is equivalent to eight ſhillings and eight pence Iriſh, and that to be paid before the farmer removed it from the field. Flax is a manufacture of little conſequence in England, but is the ſtaple in Ireland; and if it increaſes (as it probably will) muſt in many places joſtle out corn, becauſe it is more gainful.

The clergy of the eſtabliſhed church have no intereſt like thoſe of the church of Rome, diſtinct from the true intereſt of their country, and therefore

fore ought to ſuffer under no diſtinct impoſitions or taxes of any kind.

The bill for ſettling the *modus* of *flax* in England, was brought in the firſt year of the reign of king George I. when the clergy lay very unjuſtly under the imputation of ſome diſaffection; and to encourage the bringing in of ſome fens in Lincolnſhire which were not to be continued under *flax*; but it left all lands where *flax* had been ſown before that time under the ſame condition of tything, in which they were before the paſſing of that bill: whereas this bill takes away what the clergy are actually poſſeſſed of.

That the woollen manufacture is the ſtaple of England, as the linen is that of Ireland, yet no attempt was ever made in England to reduce the tythe of wool for the encouragement of that manufacture. This manufacture hath already been remarkably favoured by the clergy, who have hitherto been generally content with leſs than half, ſome with ſix-pence a garden, and ſome have taken nothing.

Employments, they ſay, have been taxed; the reaſons for which taxation will not hold, with regard to property at leaſt, till employments become inheritances. The commons always have had ſo tender a regard to property, that they would never ſuffer any law to paſs, whereby any particular perſons might be aggrieved, without their own conſent.

N. B. *Some alterations have been made in the bill about the* modus, *ſince the above paper was written; but they are of little moment.*

modeſt **PROPOSAL** for preventing the CHILDREN of POOR PEOPLE in IRELAND from being a burden to their Parents or Country, and for making them beneficial to the Public.

T is a melancholy object to thoſe, who walk through this great town, or travel in the untry, when they ſee the *ſtreets*, the *roads*, and *in doors* crowded with *beggars* of the female :, followed by three, four, or ſix children, *all in gs*, and importuning every paſſenger for an alms. ieſe *mothers*, inſtead of being able to work for eir honeſt livelihood, are forced to employ all eir time in ſtrolling, to beg ſubſiſtence for their *pleſs infants*, who, as they grow up, either turn *ieves* for want of work, or leave their *dear na-ve country to fight for the pretender in* Spain, or ll themſelves to Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on e backs, or at the heels of their *mothers*, and equently of their *fathers*, is *in the preſent deorable ſtate of the kingdom* a very great additional ievance; and therefore, whoever could find out fair, cheap and eaſy method of making theſe ildren ſound and uſeful members of the comonwealth, would deſerve ſo well of the public, to have his ſtatue ſet up for a preſerver of the ation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of *profeſſed beggars:*

beggars: it is of a much greater extent, and sha take in the whole number of infants at a certai age, who are born of parents in effect as litt able to support them, as those who demand o charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoug for many years upon this important subject, a maturely weighed the several *schemes of our proj tors*, I have always found them grossly mistak in their computation. It is true, a child *just dr from its dam* may be supported by her milk fo solar year, with little other nourishment: at m not above the value of two shillings, which t mother may certainly get, or the value in *scra* by her lawful occupation of begging; and it exactly at one year old that I propose to provi for them in such a manner, as, instead of bein charge upon their *parents*, or the *parish*, or *wa ing food and raiment* for the rest of their liv they shall, on the contrary, contribute to t feeding, and partly to the cloathing of ma thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage my scheme, that it will prevent those *volunta abortions*, and that horrid practice of *women mu dering their bastard children*, alas! too freque among us, sacrificing the *poor innocent babes*, doubt more to avoid the expence than the sham which would move tears and pity in the most i vage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in this kingdom bei usually reckoned one million and a half, of th

I c

calculate there may be about two hundred thou-
ınd couple, whoſe wives are breeders; from
hich number I ſubtract thirty thouſand couple
ho are able to maintain their own children, (al-
ıough I apprehend there cannot be ſo many un-
er *the preſent diſtreſſes of the kingdom*) but this
ing granted, there will remain an hundred and
venty thouſand breeders. I again ſubtract fifty
ıouſand for thoſe women, who miſcarry, or
hoſe children die by accident or diſeaſe within
e year. There only remain an hundred and
venty thouſand children of poor parents annually
ırn. The queſtion therefore is, How this num-
r ſhall be reared and provided for? which, as
have already ſaid, under the preſent ſituation
affairs, is utterly impoſſible by all the methods
therto propoſed. For we can *neither employ them*
handicraft or *agriculture*; we neither build
ıuſes, (I mean in the country) nor cultivate
nd: they can very ſeldom pick up a livelihood
ſtealing, till they arrive at ſix years old, except
here they are of towardly parts; although I con-
ſs they learn the rudiments much earlier; du-
ng which time they can however be properly
oked upon only as *probationers*; as I have been
formed by a principal gentleman in the county
Cavan, who proteſted to me, that he never
iew above one or two inſtances under the age
ſix, even in a part of the kingdom *ſo renowned*
r *the quickeſt proficiency in that art.*

I am aſſured by our merchants, that a boy or
girl before twelve years old, is no ſaleable com-

modity; and even when they come to this age, they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half a crown at moſt, on the exchange; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at leaſt four times that value.

I ſhall now therefore humbly propoſe my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the leaſt objection.

I have been aſſured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nurſed, is at a year old moſt delicious, nouriſhing, and wholeſome food, whether *ſtewed*, *roaſted*, *baked*, or *boiled*; and I make no doubt that it will equally ſerve in a *fricaſſee*, or a *ragouſt*.

I do therefore humbly offer it to *public conſideration*, that of the hundred and twenty thouſand children already computed, twenty thouſand may be reſerved for breed, whereof only one-fourth part to be males; which is more than we allow to *ſheep*, *black cattle*, or *ſwine*; and my reaſon is, that theſe children are ſeldom the fruits of marriage, *a circumſtance not much regarded by our ſavages*, therefore *one male* will be ſufficient to ſerve four females. That the remaining hundred thouſand may, at a year old, be offered in ſale to the perſons of *quality and fortune* through the kingdom; always adviſing the mother to let them ſuck plentifully in the laſt month, ſo as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child

will

will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in *winter*.

I have reckoned upon a medium, that a child just born will weigh 12 pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will encrease to 28 pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very *proper for landlords*, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants' flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentiful in March, and a little before and after; for we are told by a grave author, † an eminent French physician, that *fish being a prolific diet*, there are more children born in Roman *catholic countries* about nine months after Lent, than at any other season; therefore, reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of *popish infants* is at least three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage, by lessening the number of *papists* among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all *cottagers*, *labourers*, and four-fifths of the *farmers*) to be about two shillings *per annum*, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the *carcase of a good fat child*, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent

† Rabelais.

nutritive meat, when he hath only ſome particular friend, or his own family to dine with him. Thus the ſquire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; the mother will have eight ſhillings neat profit, and be fit for work, till ſhe produces another child.

Thoſe, who are more thrifty (*as I muſt confeſs the times require*) may flay the carcaſe; the ſkin of which, artificially dreſſed, will make admirable *gloves for ladies*, and *ſummer boots for fine gentlemen*.

As to our city of Dublin, ſhambles may be appointed for this purpoſe in the moſt convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be aſſured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, and dreſſing them hot from the knife, as we do *roaſting pigs*.

A very worthy perſon, *a true lover of his country*, and whoſe virtues I highly eſteem, was lately pleaſed, in diſcourſing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my ſcheme. He ſaid, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late deſtroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of veniſon might be well ſupplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; ſo great a number of both ſexes in every county being now ready to ſtarve for want of work and ſervice; and theſe to be diſpoſed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwiſe by their neareſt relations. But, with due deference to ſo excellent a friend, and ſo deſerving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his ſentiments; for, as to the males, my American

acquaintance

acquaintance aſſured me, from frequent experience, that their fleſh was generally tough and lean, like that of our ſchool-boys, by continual exerciſe, and their taſte diſagreeable, and to fatten them would not anſwer the charge. Then, as to the females, it would, I think, with humble ſubmiſſion, *be a loſs to the public*, becauſe they ſoon would become breeders themſelves: and beſides, it is not improbable, that ſome ſcrupulous people might be apt to cenſure ſuch a practice, (although indeed very unjuſtly) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which I confeſs, hath always been with me the ſtrongeſt objection againſt any project, how well ſoever intended.

But in order to juſtify my friend, he confeſſed, that this expedient was put into his head by the famous Salmanaazor, a native of the iſland of Formoſa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago, and, in converſation, told my friend, that in his country, when any young perſon happened to be put to death, the executioner ſold the carcaſe to *perſons of quality* as a prime dainty; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poiſon the Emperor, was ſold to his imperial *Majeſty's Prime Miniſter of State*, and other great *mandarins* of the court, *in joints from the gibbet*, at four hundred crowns. Neither indeed can I deny, that if the ſame uſe were made of ſeveral plump young girls in this town, who, without one ſingle groat to their fortunes, cannot ſtir abroad without a chair, and appear at a *play-houſe*

and *aſſemblies* in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worſe.

Some perſons of a deſponding ſpirit are in great concern about that vaſt number of poor people, who are aged, diſeaſed, or maimed; and I have been deſired to employ my thoughts, what courſe may be taken to eaſe the nation of ſo grievous an incumbrance. But I am not in the leaſt pain upon that matter, becauſe it is very well known that they are every day *dying* and *rotting*, by *cold* and *famine*, and *filth* and *vermin*, as faſt as can be reaſonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almoſt as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and conſequently pine away for want of nouriſhment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not ſtrength to perform it; and thus the country and themſelves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digreſſed, and therefore ſhall return to my ſubject. I think the advantages by the propoſal, which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the higheſt importance.

For, *firſt*, as I have already obſerved, it would greatly leſſen *the number of papiſts*, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our moſt dangerous enemies, and who ſtay at home on purpoſe *to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender*, hoping to take their advantage by the abſence of ſo *many good proteſtants*, who have choſen rather to leave their coun-

try,

try, than ſtay at home and pay tithes againſt their conſcience to an *epiſcopal curate*.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have ſomething valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a diſtreſs, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already ſeized, *and money a thing unknown*.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of an hundred thouſand children, from two years old and upwards, cannot be computed at leſs than ten ſhillings a piece *per ann.* the nation's ſtock will be thereby encreaſed 50,000 l. *per ann.* beſides the profit of a new diſh introduced to the tables of all *gentlemen of fortune* in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taſte. And the money will circulate among ourſelves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The conſtant breeders, beſides the gain of eight ſhillings *ſterling per annum* by the ſale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the firſt year.

Fifthly, This food would likewiſe bring great *cuſtom to taverns*; where the vintners will certainly be ſo prudent as to procure the beſt receipts for dreſſing it to perfection, and conſequently have their houſes frequented by all the *fine gentlemen*, who juſtly value themſelves upon their knowledge in good eating; and a ſkilful cook, who underſtands how to oblige his gueſts, will contrive to make it as expenſive as they pleaſe.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wiſe nations have either encouraged

couraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would encreaſe the care and tenderneſs of mothers towards their children, when they were ſure of a ſettlement for life to the poor babes, provided in ſome ſort by the public, to their annual profit inſtead of expence. We ſhould ſoon ſee an honeſt emulation among the married women, *which of them could bring the fatteſt child to the market.* Men would become as *fond* of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their *mares* in foal, their *cows* in calf, or *ſows* when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too *frequent* a practice) for fear of a miſcarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For inſtance, the addition of ſome thouſand carcaſes in our exportation of barreled beef: the propagation of *ſwines fleſh*, and improvement in the art of making good *bacon*, ſo much wanted among us by the great deſtruction of *pigs*, too frequent at our tables; which are no way comparable in taſte and magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearly child, which, roaſted whole, will make a conſiderable figure at a *Lord mayor's feaſt*, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being ſtudious of brevity.

Suppoſing that one thouſand families in the city would be conſtant cuſtomers for infants fleſh, beſides others who might have it at *merry meetings*, particularly at *weddings* and *chriſtenings*, I compute, that Dublin would take off, annually, about twenty thouſand carcaſes; and the reſt of

the

gdom (where probably they will be ſold ſome-
heaper) the remaining eighty thouſand.
1 think of no one objection, that will poſ-
: raiſed againſt this propoſal, unleſs it ſhould
ed, that the number of people will be
r much leſſened in the kingdom. This I
own, and it was indeed one principal de-
1 offering it to the world. I deſire the
will obſerve, that I calculate my remedy
one individual kingdom of IRELAND, *and*
ther that ever was, is, or, I think, ever can
earth. Therefore, let no man talk to me
r expedients: *of taxing our abſentees at five*
s a pound: of uſing neither clothes nor houſhold
re, except what is of our own growth and
cture: of utterly rejecting the materials and
ents, that promote foreign luxury: of curing
enſiveneſs of pride, vanity, idleneſs, and gam-
our women: of introducing a vein of parſi-
prudence, and temperance: of learning to
ur country, in the want of which we differ
rom LAPLANDERS, *and the inhabitants of*
AMBOO: *of quitting our animoſities and fac-*
or acting any longer like the Jews, who were
ing one another at the very moment their city
ken: of being a little cautious not to ſell our
and conſciences for nothing: of teaching land-
have at leaſt one degree of mercy towards
nants: laſtly, *of putting a ſpirit of honeſty,*
y, and ſkill into our ſhop-keepers, who, if a
on could now be taken to buy only our native
would immediately unite to cheat and exact

upon

upon us in the price, the meaſure, and the goodneſs, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair propoſal of juſt dealing, though often and earneſtly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of theſe and the like expedients, * till he hath at leaſt ſome glimpſe of hope, that there will ever be ſome hearty and ſincere attempt to put them in *practice.*

But, as to myſelf, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, viſionary thoughts, and at length utterly deſpairing of ſucceſs, I fortunately fell upon this propoſal; which, as it is wholly new, ſo it hath ſomething ſolid and real, of no expence and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in *diſobliging* ENGLAND. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the fleſh being of too tender a conſiſtence to admit a long continuance in ſalt; *although, perhaps, I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.*

After all, I am not ſo violently bent upon my own opinion, as to reject any offer propoſed by wiſe men, which ſhall be found equally innocent, cheap, eaſy, and effectual. But before ſomething of that kind ſhall be advanced in contradiction to my ſcheme, and offering a better, I deſire the author or authors will be pleaſed maturely to conſider two points. *Firſt*, As things now ſtand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for

* Theſe expedients had been propoſed before, ſome of them by the Dean; and to urge the practice of them, *by ſhewing the only alternative*, ſeems to have been the deſign of this paper. *Hawkeſ.*

for a hundred thouſand uſeleſs mouths and backs. And, *ſecondly*, There being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whoſe whole ſubſiſtence, put into a common ſtock, would leave them in debt two millions of pounds *ſterling*, adding thoſe, who are beggars by profeſſion, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with their wives and children, who are beggars in effect; I deſire thoſe politicians who diſlike my overture, and may perhaps be ſo bold to attempt an anſwer, that they will firſt aſk the parents of theſe mortals, whether they would not, at this day, think it a great happineſs to have been ſold for food at a year old, in the manner I preſcribe, and thereby have avoided ſuch a perpetual ſcene of misfortunes, as they have ſince gone through, by the *oppreſſion of landlords*, the *impoſſibility of paying rent without money or trade*, the *want of common ſuſtenance*, with neither *houſe nor clothes* to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the moſt *inevitable proſpect of entailing the like*, or greater miſeries, upon their *breed for ever*.

I profeſs, in the ſincerity of my heart, that I have not the leaſt perſonal intereſt in endeavouring to promote this neceſſary work, having no other motive than the *public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving ſome pleaſure to the rich*. I have no children, by which I can propoſe to get a ſingle penny; the youngeſt being nine years old, and my wife paſt child-bearing.

To

To the Honourable Houſe of Commons, *&c.*

The humble PETITION of the FOOTMEN in and about the City of *Dublin.*

Written in the year 1732.

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your *petitioners* are a great and numerous *ſociety*, endowed with ſeveral privileges time out of mind.

That certain *lewd*, *idle*, and *diſorderly* perſons for ſeveral months paſt, as it is notoriouſly known, have been daily ſeen in the public walks of this city, habited ſometimes in *green coats*, and ſometimes *laced*, with long *oaken cudgels* in their hands, and without ſwords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent thoſe walks; pretending and giving themſelves out to be true genuine Iriſh *footmen:* whereas they can be proved to be no better than common *toupees*, as a judicious eye may ſoon diſcover, by their *awkward*, *clumſy*, *ungenteel* gait and behaviour; by their unſkilfulneſs in dreſs, even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of *impudence* and *dulneſs* peculiar to the reſt of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that tranſcendent

endent pitch of aſſurance; although it may
lly apprehended, that they will do ſo in
if theſe *counterfeits* ſhall happen to ſucceed
ir evil deſign of paſſing for *real footmen*,
y to render themſelves more amiable to the

ur *petitioners* do farther alledge, that many
ſaid *counterfeits*, upon a ſtrict examination,
een found in the act of *ſtrutting*, *ſtaring*,
ing, *ſwaggering*, in a manner that plainly
d their beſt endeavours to imitate us.
ein, although they did not ſucceed, yet by
ignorant and ungainly way of copying our
, the utmoſt indignity was endeavoured to
t upon our whole profeſſion.

ur *petitioners* do therefore make it their
le requeſt, that this *honourable houſe* (to ma-
whom your *petitioners* are nearly *allied*) will
to take this grievance into your moſt ſeri-
onſideration: humbly ſubmitting, whether
uld not be proper, that certain *officers* might
public charge be employed to ſearch for,
iſcover all ſuch *counterfeit footmen*; to carry
before the next *juſtice* of peace, by whoſe
nt, upon the firſt conviction, they ſhould be
ed of their *coats* and *oaken* ornaments, and
two hours in the ſtocks; upon the ſecond
ction, beſides ſtripping, to be ſet ſix hours in
ocks, with a paper pinned on their breaſts,
ying their crime, in large capital letters,
n the following words: *A. B. commonly call-*

ed A. B. Esq; a toupee, and a notorious impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish footman.

And for any other offence, the said *toupee* shall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be set at liberty till he shall have given sufficient security for his good behaviour.

Your *honours* will please to observe, with what lenity we propose to treat these enormous offenders, who have already brought such a scandal on our *honourable calling*, that several well-meaning people have mistaken them to be of our *fraternity*, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have supported our station, as we always did, in the *worst of times*. And we farther beg leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a *seditious* design, to render us less capable of serving the *public* in any great employments, as several of our *fraternity*, as well as our *ancestors*, have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your *honours* to give necessary orders for our relief in this present exigency: And your *petitioners* (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, *&c.*

A PRO-

A PROPOSAL for giving BADGES to the BEGGARS in all the Pariſhes of *Dublin*.

By the Dean of St. Patrick's.

Written in the year 1737.

IT hath been a general complaint, that the poor-houſe (eſpecially ſince the new conſtitution by act of parliament) hath been of no benefit to this city, for the eaſe of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new-modelled by the legiſlature; not from any perſonal regard, but merely as one of the two deans, who are of courſe put into moſt commiſſions that relate to the city; and I have likewiſe the honour to have been left out of ſeveral commiſſions, upon the ſcore of party, in which my predeceſſors, time out of mind, have always been members.

The firſt commiſſion was made up of about fifty perſons, which were, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and ſome few other citizens; the Judges, the two Archbiſhops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I muſt confeſs my opinion, that the diſſolving the old commiſſion, and eſtabliſhing a new one, of near three times the number, have been the great cauſe of rendering ſo good a deſign not only uſeleſs, but a grievance inſtead of

a benefit to the city. In the preſent commiſſion, all the city clergy are included, beſides a great number of 'Squires, not only thoſe who reſide in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but ſeveral who live at a great diſtance, and cannot poſſibly have the leaſt concern for the advantage of the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attended ſince the new eſtabliſhment, I obſerved very little was done, except one or two acts of extreme juſtice, which I then thought might as well have been ſpared: and I have found the court of aſſiſtants uſually taken up in little wrangles about coachmen, or adjuſting accounts of meal and ſmall beer; which, however neceſſary, might ſometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment, I mean ſome ſchemes recommended to the general Board, for anſwering the chief ends in erecting and eſtabliſhing ſuch a poor-houſe, and endowing it with ſo conſiderable a revenue: and the principal end I take to have been, that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the pariſhes are not able to do it; and clearing the ſtreets from all ſtrollers, foreigners, and ſturdy beggars, with which, to the univerſal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infeſted ſince the eſtabliſhment of the poor-houſe, than it was ever known to be ſince its firſt erection.

As the whole fund for ſupporting this hoſpital is raiſed only from the inhabitants of the city, ſo there can be hardly any thing more abſurd than to ſee it miſemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and baſtards, or orphans of farmers, whoſe country

country landlords never contributed one ſhilling towards their ſupport. I would engage, that half his revenue, if employed with common care, and to very great degree of common honeſty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a ſmall number of original poor in every pariſh, who might, without being burdenſome to the pariſhioners, find a tolerable ſupport.

I have for ſome years paſt applied myſelf to ſeveral Lord-Mayors, and the late Archbiſhop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain propoſal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every pariſh, who begged in the ſtreets; that the ſaid beggars ſhould be confined to their own pariſhes; that they ſhould wear their badges well ſown upon one of their ſhoulders, always viſible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town; or whatever legal puniſhment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in ſome clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual diſquiet, which they do not ill deſerve; and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of leſs conſequence; becauſe the remedy is in their own power: but, all ſtreet-walkers and ſhop-keepers bear an equal ſhare in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection againſt this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their ſeveral pariſhes. The objection was this: What ſhall we do with the foreign

beggars? must they be left to ſtarve? I anſwered, No; but they muſt be driven or whipped out of town; and let the next country pariſh do as they pleaſe, or rather, after the practice in England, ſend them from one pariſh to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of England ſtill in force, every pariſh is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no ſuch conſequence in this point as ſome would make it, whether a country pariſh be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer pariſhes of the kingdom, all neceſſaries for life, proper for poor people, are comparatively cheaper; I mean, butter-milk, oat-meal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himſelf a beggar, can ſometimes ſpare a ſup or a morſel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own pariſh, who is diſabled from work. A beggar native of the pariſh is known to the 'Squire, to the church miniſter, to the popiſh prieſt, or the conventicle teacher, as well as to every farmer: he hath generally ſome relations able to live, and contribute ſomething to his maintenance: none of which advantages can be reaſonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats (if he has any) may get half their ſupport by doing ſome kind of work in their power, and thereby be leſs burdenſome to the people. In ſhort, all neceſſaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is

it

t equitable, that beggars ſhould put us to the harge of giving them victuals, and the carriage oo.

But, when the ſpirit of wandering takes him, ttended by his females and their equipage of hildren, he becomes a nuiſance to the whole ountry: he and his female are thieves, and teach he trade of ſtealing to their brood at four years ld; and if his infirmities be counterfeit, it is angerous for a ſingle perſon unarmed to meet im on the road. He wanders from one coun- ry to another, but ſtill with a view to this town, whither he arrives at laſt, and enjoys all the pri- ileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder, that the country 'ſquires hould be very willing to ſend up their colonies; but why the city ſhould be content to receive hem, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charter to maintain a thouſand beggars, they could do it heaper by eighty *per cent.* a hundred miles off, han in this town, or in any of its ſuburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in pro- portion ſhares ſo deeply in the daily increaſing miſeries of Ireland, as its capital city; to which miſeries there hardly remained any addition, ex- cept the perpetual ſwarms of foreign beggars, who might be baniſhed in a month, without expence, and with very little trouble.

As I am perſonally acquainted with a great number of ſtreet-beggars, I find ſome weak at- tempts have been made in one or two pariſhes to promote

promote the wearing of badges; and m
queſtion to thoſe who aſk an alms is, *W*
your badge? I have, in ſeveral years, met
about a dozen who were ready to produce
ſome out of their pockets, others from
their coat, and two or three on their ſhou
only covered with a ſort of capes, whic
could lift up, or let down upon occaſion.
are too lazy to work; they are not afraid t
nor aſhamed to beg, and yet are too proud
ſeen with a badge, as many of them hav
feſſed to me, and not a few in very inj
terms, particularly the females. They al
upon ſuch an obligation as a high indignity
to their office. I appeal to all indifferent p
whether ſuch wretches deſerve to be relieved
to myſelf, I muſt confeſs, this abſurd inſ
hath ſo affected me, that, for ſeveral years
have not diſpoſed of one ſingle farthing to a
beggar, nor intend to do ſo until I ſee a bet
gulation; and I have endeavoured to perſu
my brother-walkers to follow my example,
moſt of them aſſure me they do. For, if be
be not able to beat out pride, it cannot d
charity. However, as to perſons in coach
chairs, they bear but little of the perſecuti
ſuffer, and are willing to leave it entirely up

To ſay the truth, there is not a more und
ing vicious race of human kind, than the b
thoſe who are reduced to beggary, even i
beggarly country. For, as a great part c
public miſeries is originally owing to ou

faults (but what thoſe faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention) ſo I am confident, that among the meaner people, nineteen in twenty of thoſe who are reduced to a ſtarving condition, did not become ſo by what the lawyers call the work of God either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleneſs, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenneſs, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done, from thoſe who have aſked me an alms, what was their former courſe of life, will find them to have been ſervants in good families, broken tradeſmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed houſekeepers; but (to uſe their own cant) reduced by loſſes and croſſes, by which nothing can be underſtood but idleneſs and vice.

As this is the only chriſtian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty, and not the riches of the nation; ſo the bleſſing of *increaſe* and *multiply* is by us converted into a curſe: and, as marriage hath been ever countenanced in all free countries, ſo we ſhould be leſs miſerable, if it were diſcouraged in ours, as far as can be conſiſtent with chriſtianity. It is ſeldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the ſervant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he hath ſaved up a ſtock of money ſufficient to carry on his buſineſs; nor takes a wife without a ſuitable portion; and as ſeldom fails of making a yearly addition to that ſtock, with a view of providing for his children.

R...

But in this kingdom, the caſe is directly contr
ry, where many thouſand couples are yearly ma
ried, whoſe whole united fortunes, bating t
rags on their backs, would not be ſufficient
purchaſe a pint of butter-milk for their weddin
ſupper, nor have any proſpect of ſupporting th
honourable ſtate but by ſervice, or labour, or thie
ry. Nay, their *happineſs* is often deferred un
they find credit to borrow, or cunning to ſteal
ſhilling to pay their popiſh prieſt, or infamc
couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion
wiſdom would be required, to find ſome kind
remedy againſt this deſtructive evil, or at lea
not to draw the conſequences of it upon our c
caying city; the greateſt part whereof muſt,
courſe, in a few years, become deſolate, or
ruins.

In all other nations, that are not abſolut
barbarous, parents think themſelves bound,
the law of nature and reaſon, to make ſome pı
viſion for their children; but, the reaſon offe
by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying,
that they may have children to maintain th
when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been, for ſo
time paſt, extremely obliged to England for c
very beneficial branch of commerce; for,
ſeems they are grown ſo gracious as to tranſ
us continually colonies of beggars, in return
a million of money they receive yearly fr
hence. That I may give no offence, I profeſ
mean real Engliſh beggars, in the literal mean

of the word, as it is uſually underſtood by proteſtants. It ſeems the juſtices of the peace, and pariſh-officers in the weſtern coaſts of England, have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their ſupernumerary beggars, in order advance the Engliſh proteſtant intereſt among us; and theſe they are ſo kind to ſend over *gratis*, and duty-free. I have had the honour, more than once, to attend large cargoes of them from Cheſter to Dublin: and I was then ſo ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city ſhould receive them into Bridewell; and, after a month's reſidence, having been well whipt twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they ſhould be returned honeſtly back, with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved of, I propoſed, that whereas one Engliſhman is allowed to be of equal intrinſic value with twelve born in Ireland, we ſhould, in juſtice, return them a dozen for one, to diſpoſe of as they pleaſed.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their ſeveral pariſhes. For inſtance; a beggar of the pariſh of St. Werburgh's, or any other pariſh here, if he be an object of compaſſion, hath an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand; becauſe the inhabitants, one or other, walk through every ſtreet in town, and give their alms, without conſidering the place, wherever they think it may be well diſpoſed of: and theſe helps, added to what they get

get in eatables, by going from houſe to houſe among the gentry and citizens, will, without being very burthenſome, be ſufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the ſuburb-pariſhes will not have altogether the ſame advantage, becauſe they are not equally in the road of buſineſs and paſſengers: but here it is to be conſidered, that the beggars there, have not ſo good a title to public charity, becauſe moſt of them are ſtrollers from the country, and compoſe a principal part of that great nuiſance which we ought to remove.

I ſhould be apt to think, that few things can be more irkſome to a city miniſter, than a number of beggars which do not belong to his diſtrict, whom he hath no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of thoſe to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuſe to any miniſter of a city-pariſh, he uſually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he ſays, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as thoſe beadles often keep ale-houſes, they find their account in ſuch cuſtomers. This evil might eaſily be remedied, if the pariſhes would make ſome ſmall addition to the ſalaries of a beadle, and be more careful in the choice of thoſe officers. But, I conceive there is one effectual method, in the power of every miniſter to put in practice; I mean, by making it the intereſt of all his own original poor to drive out intruders; for, if the pariſh beggars were abſolutely forbidden by the miniſter and church

church officers to ſuffer ſtrollers to come into the pariſh, upon pain of themſelves not being permitted to beg alms at the church-doors, or at the houſes and ſhops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiſcretion of our city ſhop-keepers, who ſuffer their doors to be daily beſieged by crowds of beggars, (as the gates of a lord are by duns) to the great diſguſt and vexation of many cuſtomers, whom I have frequently obſerved to go to other ſhops, rather than ſuffer ſuch a perſecution; which might eaſily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infeſt them.

Wherefore I do aſſert, that the ſhop-keepers, who are the greateſt complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every cuſtomer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deſerve what they ſuffer, when a 'prentice with a horſe-whip is able to laſh every beggar from the ſhop, who is not of the pariſh, and doth not wear the badge of that pariſh on his ſhoulder, well faſtened, and fairly viſible; and if this practice were univerſal in every houſe, to all the ſturdy vagrants, we ſhould, in a few weeks, clear the town of all mendicants, except thoſe who have a proper title to our charity: as for the aged and infirm, it would be ſufficient to give them nothing, and then they muſt ſtarve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that firſt endowed this hoſpital; and thoſe who afterwards contributed, as they

were ſuch who generally inhabited here, ſo tl
intended what they gave to be for the uſe of
city's poor. The revenues, which have been fi
raiſed by parliament, are wholly paid by the c
without the leaſt charge upon any other par
the kingdom; and therefore, nothing could m
defeat the original deſign, than to miſapply th
revenues on ſtrolling beggars or baſtards from
country, which bears no ſhare in the charges
are at.

If ſome of the out-pariſhes be over-burde
with poor, the reaſon muſt be, that the grea
part of thoſe poor are ſtrollers from the coun
who neſtle themſelves where they can find
cheapeſt lodgings, and from thence infeſt ev
part of the town, out of which they ought tc
whipped, as a moſt inſufferable nuiſance, be
nothing elſe but a profligate clan of thie
drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fi
to be rooted out of the face of the earth, tl
ſuffered to levy a vaſt annual tax upon the c
which ſhares too deep in the public miſe
brought on us by the oppreſſions we ly under fr
our neighbours, our brethren, our countrym
our fellow proteſtants, and fellow ſubjects.

Some time ago, I was appointed one of a cc
mittee, to enquire into the ſtate of the wc
houſe; where we found, that a charity was
ſtowed by a great perſon for a certain time, whi
in its conſequences, operated very much to
detriment of the houſe; for, when the time
elapſed, all thoſe who were ſupported by that cl

ri

rity, continued on the ſame foot with the reſt on the foundation; and, being generally a pack of profligate, vagabond wretches, from ſeveral parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the reſt; ſo partial, or treacherous, or intereſted, or ignorant, or miſtaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itſelf.

I know it is complained, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city, is charged upon the bellowers (as they are called) who find their accounts beſt in ſuffering thoſe vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuſe might eaſily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better ſalaries were given to thoſe who execute that office in the ſeveral pariſhes, and would make it their intereſt to clear the town of thoſe caterpillars, rather than hazard the loſs of an employment that would give them an honeſt livelihood. But, if that ſhould fail, yet a general reſolution of never giving charity to a ſtreet beggar out of his own pariſh, or without a viſible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond ſpirit in beggars, which ought to be diſcouraged, and ſeverely puniſhed. It is owing to the ſame cauſes that drove them into poverty; I mean, idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and raſh marriages, without the leaſt proſpect of ſupporting a family by honeſt endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is obſerved, that hardly one beggar in twenty, looks upon himſelf to be relieved by receiving bread,

or other food; and they have in this town been frequently ſeen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that hath been given them, into the kennel; neither do they much regard clothes, unleſs to ſell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work; they want only ale, brandy, and other ſtrong liquors, which cannot be had without money: and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had ſome other thoughts to offer upon this ſubject. But as I am a deſponder in my nature, and have tolerably well diſcovered the diſpoſition of our people, who never will move a ſtep towards eaſing themſelves from any one ſingle grievance; it will be thought, that I have already ſaid too much, and to little or no purpoſe, which hath often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

April 22. 1737.

J. SWIFT.

ADVICE

ADVICE to the FREEMEN of the City of *Dublin*, in the Choice of a MEMBER to repreſent them in PARLIAMENT. *

THOSE few writers, who, ſince the death of alderman Burton, have employed their pens n giving advice to our citizens, how they ſhould roceed in electing a new repreſentative for the ext ſeſſions, having laid aſide their pens; I have aſon to hope, that all true lovers of their coun- y in general, and particularly thoſe who have ıy regard for the privileges and liberties of this reat and ancient city, will think a ſecond, and a ıird time, before they come to a final determi- ation upon what perſon they reſolve to fix their ıoice.

I am told, there are only two perſons, who ſet p for candidates; one is the preſent lord ıayor †, and the other ‡, a gentleman of good ſeem, an alderman of the city, a merchant of putation, and poſſeſſed of a conſiderable office ‖ nder the crown. The queſtion is, which of ieſe two perſons it will be moſt for the advan- ge of the city to elect? I have but little ac- uaintance with either, ſo that my enquiries will e very impartial, and drawn only from the ge- eral character and ſituation of both.

* This piece was publiſhed in the year 1733; and as it may uſeful upon a like occaſion, we have here given it a place.

† Humphrey French.

‡ John Macarell.

‖ Regiſter to the barracks.

In order to this, I muſt offer my countrymen and fellow citizens ſome reaſons, why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful at this juncture, upon whom they beſtow their votes.

To perform this with more clearneſs, it may be proper to give you a ſhort ſtate of our unfortunate country.

We conſiſt of two parties, I do not mean popiſh and proteſtant, high and low church, epiſcopal and ſectarians, whig and tory; but of thoſe of Engliſh who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whoſe anceſtors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the Engliſh crown) and the gentlemen ſent from t'other ſide to poſſeſs moſt of the chief employments here: this latter party is very much enlarged and ſtrengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil adminiſtration depoſited in their hands: although, for political ends, and to ſave appearances, ſome employments are ſtill depoſited (yet gradually in a ſmaller number) to perſons born here: this proceeding, fortified with good words and many promiſes, is ſufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might eaſily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for ſeveral years paſt with great prudence made precarious, and during pleaſure; by which means the poſſeſſors are, and muſt inevitably be, for ever dependent: yet thoſe very few of any conſe-

quence,

quence, which being dealt with ſo ſparing a hand to perſons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who deſire to mend their condition by the favour of thoſe in power.

Now, my dear fellow citizens, how is it poſſible you can conceive, that any perſon, who holds an office of ſome hundred pounds a year, which may be taken from him whenever power ſhall think fit, will, if he ſhould be choſen a member for any city, do the leaſt thing when he ſits in the houſe, that he knows or fears may be diſpleaſing to thoſe who gave him, or continue him in that office? Believe me, theſe are no times to expect ſuch an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. *Blazing ſtars* are much more frequently ſeen than ſuch heroical worthies. And I could ſooner hope to find ten thouſand pounds by digging in my garden, than ſuch a *phœnix* by ſearching among the preſent race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous, as well as modern maxim of politics in the Engliſh nation, to take every opportunity of depreſſing Ireland, whereof an hundred inſtances may be produced in points of the higheſt importance, had within the memory of every middle-aged man: although many of the greateſt perſons, among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their preſent ſucceſſors.

But ſo the fact ſtands at preſent. It is plain, that the court and country party here (I mean in the houſe of commons) very ſeldom agree in any thing

thing but their loyalty to his preſent majeſty, their reſolutions to make him and his viceroy eaſy in the government, to the utmoſt of their power, under the preſent condition of the kingdom. But the perſons ſent from England, who (to a trifle) are poſſeſſed of the ſole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in poſſeſſion who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hopers and promiſſees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon an univerſal ſubmiſſion to whatever ſhall be demanded; wherein they act ſafely, becauſe none of themſelves, except the candidates, feel the leaſt of our preſſures.

I remember a perſon of diſtinction ſome days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our higheſt employments of all kinds, can never be poſſibly loſers of one farthing by the greateſt calamities that can befal this kingdom, except a plague that would ſweep away a million of our *hewers of wood, and drawers of water:* or an invaſion that would fright our grandees out of the kingdom. For this perſon argued, that while there was a penny left in the treaſury, the civil and military liſt muſt be paid; and that the epiſcopal revenues, which are uſually farmed out at ſix times below the real value, could hardly fail. He inſiſted farther, that, as money diminiſhed, the price of all neceſſaries for life muſt of conſequence do ſo too, which would be for the advantage of all perſons in employment,

ment, as well as of my lords the biſhops, and to the ruin of every body elſe. Among the company there wanted not men in office, beſides one or two expectants: yet I did not obſerve any of them diſpoſed to return an anſwer: but the conſequences drawn were theſe: That the great men in power ſent hither from the other ſide, were by no means upon the ſame foot with his majeſty's other ſubjects of Ireland; they had no common ligament to bind them with us; they ſuffered not with our ſufferings; and, if it were poſſible for us to have any cauſe of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppoſe a perſon, born in this kingdom, ſhall happen, by his ſervices for the Engliſh intereſt, to have an employment conferred on him worth four hundred pounds a year; and that he hath likewiſe an eſtate in land worth four hundred pounds a year more: ſuppoſe him to ſit in parliament: then, ſuppoſe a land tax to be brought in, of five ſhillings a pound for ten years; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He hath four hundred pounds a year in land: the tax he muſt pay yearly is one hundred pounds; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thouſand pounds. But if he gives his vote againſt this tax, he will loſe four thouſand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he hath, by virtue or colour of his employment; and thus the balance will be againſt him three thouſand pounds.

I deſire,

I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have so much virtue and self-denial, as to lose four hundred pounds a year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there, is fought for power and riches: and so it is indeed among us: but, whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives; they do not send to Germany, Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home: and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

The house of commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who should be allowed to have employments under the crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual, by leaving the power of re-election. Our house of commons consists, I think, of about three hundred members;

s; if one hundred of theſe ſhould happen to nade up of perſons already provided for, join- with expecters, compliers, eaſy to be perſuad- ſuch as will give a vote for a friend who is in es to get ſomething; if they be merry compa- ns, without ſuſpicion, of a natural baſhful- s, not apt or able to look forwards; if good ds, ſmiles, and careſſes, have any power over m, the larger part of a ſecond hundred may be y eaſily brought in, at a moſt reaſonable rate. There is an Engliſhman * of no long ſtanding ong us, but in an employment of great truſt, ver, and profit. This excellent perſon did ly publiſh, at his own expence, a pamphlet, nted in England by authority, to juſtify the for a general exciſe, or inland duty, in order ntroduce that bleſſed ſcheme among us. What ender care muſt ſuch an Engliſh patriot for and have of our intereſt, if he ſhould conde- nd to ſit in our parliament? I will bridle my ignation. However, methinks I long to ſee t mortal, who would with pleaſure blow us up at a blaſt: but, he duly receives his thouſand nds a year; makes his progreſs like a king; eceived in pomp in every town † and village ere he travels, and ſhines in the Engliſh news- ers.

will now apply what I have ſaid to you, my brethren,

Edward Thompſon, Eſq; member of parliament for York, a Commiſſioner of the Revenue of Ireland.

Mr. Thompſon was preſented with his freedom of ſeveral orations in Ireland.

brethren, and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one perſon in office, of which he is not maſter for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of his country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honeſt gentleman, as the word honeſt is generally underſtood. But, he loves his employment better than he doth you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute to give him city ſecurity to pay him the value of his employment, if it ſhould be taken from him, during his life, for voting on all occaſions with the honeſt country party in the houſe? although I much queſtion, whether he would do it, even upon that condition.

Wherefore, ſince there are but two candidates, I entreat you will fix on the preſent lord mayor. He hath ſhewn more virtue, more activity, more ſkill, in one year's government of the city, than an hundred years can equal. He hath endeavoured, with great ſucceſs, to baniſh frauds, corruptions, and all other abuſes, from amongſt you.

A dozen ſuch men in power would be able to reform a kingdom. He hath no employment under the crown; nor is likely to get or ſolicit for any; his education having not turned him that way. I will aſſure for no man's future conduct; but he who hath hitherto practiſed the rules of virtue with ſo much difficulty, in ſo great and buſy a ſtation, deſerves your thanks, and the beſt return you can make him; and you, my brethren,

ı, have no other to give him, than that of
:ſenting you in parliament. Tell me not of
engagements and promiſes to another. Your
ıiſes were ſins of inconſideration, at beſt;
you are bound to repent and annul them.
: gentleman, although with good reputation,
ready engaged on the other ſide. He hath
hundred pounds a year under the crown,
h he is too wiſe to part with, by ſacrificing
ıod an eſtabliſhment to the empty names of
e, and love of his country. I can aſſure
the DRAPIER is in the intereſts of the pre-
lord mayor, whatever you may be told to the
rary. I have lately heard him declare ſo in
ic company, and offer ſome of theſe very rea-
in defence of his opinion; although he hath
ard and eſteem for the other gentleman, but
ld not anſwer the good of the city and the
dom for a compliment.

he lord mayor's ſeverity to ſome unfair deal-
ſhould not turn the honeſt men among them
ıſt him. Whatever he did, was for the ad-
age of thoſe very traders whoſe diſhoneſt
ıbers he puniſhed. He hath hitherto been
e temptation to act wrong; and therefore, as
kind goes, he is the moſt likely to act right
repreſentative of your city, as he conſtantly
n the government of it.

Some CONSIDERATIONS humbly offered to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen and Common Council of the Hon. City of Dublin, in the choice of a RECORDER *.

THE office of recorder to this city being vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman; it is ſaid, that five or ſix perſons are ſoliciting to ſucceed him in the employment. I am a ſtranger to all their perſons, and to moſt of their characters; which latter, I hope, will at this time be canvaſſed with more decency, than it ſometimes happeneth upon the like occaſions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts, how the ſeveral perſons and parties concerned ought to proceed, in electing a recorder for this great and ancient city.

And, firſt, As it is a very natural, ſo I can by no means think it an unreaſonable opinion, that the ſons or near relations of aldermen, and other deſerving citizens, ſhould be duly regarded, as proper competitors for an employment in the city's diſpoſal: provided they be equally qualified with other

* Upon the death of Mr. Stoyte, recorder of the city of Dublin, in the year 1733, ſeveral gentlemen declared themſelves candidates to ſucceed him: upon which the Dean wrote this paper; and Eaton Stannard, Eſq; (a gentleman of great worth and honour, and very knowing in his profeſſion,) was elected.

ther candidates; and, provided that ſuch employments require no more than common abilities, and common honeſty. But, in the choice of a recorder, the caſe is intirely different. He ought to be a perſon of good abilities in his calling; of an unſpotted character; an able practitioner; one who hath occaſionally merited of his city before: he ought to be of ſome maturity in years; a member of parliament, and likely to continue ſo; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover ſucceſſion; indulgent to tender conſciences; but, at the ſame time, a firm adherer to the eſtabliſhed church. If he be ſuch one, who hath already ſat in parliament, it ought to be enquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occaſions for the good of his country, and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city; whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious: and, laſtly, whether he be a man of courage; not to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.—Theſe, and many other particulars, are of infinitely more conſequence than that ſingle circumſtance of being deſcended, by a direct or collateral line, from any alderman, or diſtinguiſhed citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or ſhop-keeper in this city, of any ſubſtance, whoſe thriving, leſs or more, may not depend upon the good or ill conduct of a recorder. He is to watch every motion

in parliament, that may the leaſt affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the commons, as they are a numerous body, ſo they ſeem to be moſt concerned in point of intereſt; and their intereſt ought to be moſt regarded, becauſe it altogether dependeth upon the true intereſt of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lie under no awe, or fear of diſobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped, that they will duly conſider, which of the candidates is moſt likely to advance the trade of themſelves and their brother citizens; to defend their liberties, both in and out of parliament, againſt all attempts of encroachments or oppreſſion. And ſo God direct them in the choice of a recorder, who may, for many years, ſupply that important office with ſkill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people ſay, *Amen*.

The

The LAST SPEECH and DYING WORDS of EBENEZER ELLISTON, who was executed the 2d day of May 1722*.

Publiſhed at his deſire, for the common good.

[About the time that the following ſpeech was written, the town was much peſtered with *ſtreet-robbers*; who, in a barbarous manner, would ſeize on gentlemen, and take them into remote corners, and, after they had robbed them, would leave them bound and gagged. It is remarkable, that this ſpeech had ſo good an effect, that there have been very few robberies of that kind committed ſince.]

I Am now going to ſuffer the juſt puniſhment for my crimes, preſcribed by the law of God and my country. I know it is the conſtant cuſtom, that thoſe who come to this place ſhould have ſpeeches made for them, and cried about in their own hearing, as they are carried to execution; and truly they are ſuch ſpeeches, that although our fraternity be an ignorant illiterate people, they would make a man aſhamed to have ſuch nonſenſe and falſe Engliſh charged upon

 him,

* This piece had a moſt excellent effect. The thieves, vagabonds, and all the lower claſs of people, thought it the real work of Ebenezer Elliſton, who had received the grounds of a good education; and the ſtyle of this paper is ſo natural for a perſon in ſuch circumſtances, that it would almoſt deceive the niceſt judgment. *Orrery.*

him, even when he is going to the gallows. They contain a pretended account of our birth and family, of the fact for which we are to die, of our ſincere repentance, and a declaration of our religion. I cannot expect to avoid the ſame treatment with my predeceſſors. However, having had an education one or two degrees better than thoſe of my rank and profeſſion; I have been conſidering, ever ſince my commitment, what it might be proper for me to deliver upon this occaſion.

And firſt, I cannot ſay, from the bottom of my heart, that I am truly ſorry for the offence I have given to God and the world; but I am very much ſo, for the bad ſucceſs of my villanies, in bringing me to this untimely end. For, it is plainly evident, that, after having, ſome time ago, obtained a pardon from the crown, I again took up my old trade; my evil habits were ſo rooted in me, and I was grown ſo unfit for any other kind of employment. And therefore, although, in compliance with my friends, I reſolve to go to the gallows after the uſual manner, kneeling, with a book in my hand, and my eyes lift up; yet I ſhall feel no more devotion in my heart than I have obſerved in my comrades, who have been drunk among common whores the very night before their execution. I can ſay farther, from my own knowledge, that two of my fraternity, after they had been hanged, and wonderfully came to life, and made their eſcapes, as it ſometimes happens, proved afterwards the wickedeſt rogues I ever

ver knew, and ſo continued, until they were hanged again for good and all; and yet they had the impudence, at both times they went to the gallows, to ſmite their breaſts, and lift up their eyes to heaven all the way.

Secondly, From the knowledge I have of my own wicked diſpoſitions, and that of my comrades, I give it as my opinion, that nothing can be more unfortunate to the public, than the mercy of the government, in ever pardoning or tranſporting us; unleſs when we betray one another, as we never fail to do, if we are ſure to be well paid, and then a pardon may do good; by the ſame rule, *That it is better to have one fox in a farm, than three or four.* But we generally make a ſhift to return after being tranſported, and are ten times greater rogues than before, and much more cunning. Beſides, I know it by experience, that ſome hope we have of finding mercy when we are tried, or after we are condemned, is always a great encouragement to us.

Thirdly, Nothing is more dangerous to idle young fellows than the company of thoſe odious common whores we frequent, and of which this town is full: theſe wretches put us upon all miſchief, to feed their luſts and extravagancies: they are ten times more bloody and cruel than men; their advice is always not to ſpare, if we are purſued; they get drunk with us, and are common to us all; and yet, if they can get any thing by it, are ſure to be our betrayers.

Now,

which, I have been their accomplice
the reſt from their own mouths; I
ſet down the names of thoſe we ca
of the wicked houſes we frequent,
who receive and buy our ſtolen go
ſolemnly charged this honeſt man,
ceived his promiſe, upon oath, that
hears of any rogue to be tried for
houſe-breaking, he will look into his
he finds the name there of the thie
to ſend the whole paper to the gove
this. I here give my companions fai
warning, and hope they will take it.

In the paper above mentioned,
with my friend, I have alſo ſet dow
of ſeveral gentlemen who have bee
Dublin ſtreets for three years paſt:
the circumſtances of thoſe robberies
plainly, that nothing but the want
courage was the cauſe of their m

likely to be the cauſe of all the miſchief of that kind which may happen for the future.

I cannot leave the world, without a ſhort deſcription of that kind of life which I have led for ſome years paſt; and is exactly the ſame with the reſt of our wicked brethren.

Although we are generally ſo corrupted, from our childhood, as to have no ſenſe of goodneſs; yet ſomething heavy always hangs about us. I know not what it is, that we are never eaſy till we are half drunk among our whores and companions; nor ſleep ſound, unleſs we drink longer than we can ſtand. If we go abroad in the day, a wiſe man would eaſily find us to be rogues by our faces, we have ſuch a ſuſpicious, fearful, and conſtrained countenance; often turning back, and ſlinking through narrow lanes and alleys. I have never failed of knowing a brother thief by his looks, though I never ſaw him before. Every man among us keeps his particular whore, who is, however, common to us all, when we have a mind to change. When we have got a booty, if it be in money, we divide it equally among our companions, and ſoon ſquander it away on our vices in thoſe houſes that receive us; for the maſter and miſtreſs, and the very tapſter, go ſnacks; and beſides, make us pay triple reckonings. If our plunder be plate, watches, rings, ſnuff-boxes, and the like; we have cuſtomers in all quarters of the town to take them off. I have ſeen a tankard worth fifteen pounds ſold to a fellow in ——— ſtreet for twenty ſhillings; and a gold watch

watch for thirty. I have ſet down his name, and that of ſeveral others, in the paper already mentioned. We have ſetters watching in corners, and by dead walls, to give us notice when a gentleman goes by; eſpecially if he be any thing in drink. I believe in my conſcience, that if an account were made of a thouſand pounds in ſtolen goods; conſidering the low rates we ſell them at, the bribes we muſt give for concealment, the extortions of ale-houſe reckonings, and other neceſſary charges, there would not remain fifty pounds clear to be divided among the robbers. And out of this, we muſt find cloaths for our whores, beſides treating them from morning to night; who, in requital, reward us with nothing but treachery and the pox. For, when our money is gone, they are every moment threatening to inform againſt us, if we will not go out and look for more. If any thing in this world be like hell, as I have heard it deſcribed by our clergy, the trueſt picture of it muſt be in the back-room of one of our ale-houſes at midnight, where a crew of robbers and their whores are met together after a booty, and are beginning to grow drunk; from which time, until they are paſt their ſenſes, is ſuch a continued horrible noiſe of curſing, blaſphemy, lewdneſs, ſcurrility, and bruiſh behaviour, ſuch roaring and confuſion, ſuch a clutter of mugs and pots at each others heads; that Bedlam, in compariſon, is a ſober and orderly place. At laſt they all tumble from their ſtools and benches, and ſleep away the reſt of the night;

night; and, generally, the landlord, or his wife, or ſome other whore who has a ſtronger head than the reſt, picks their pockets before they wake. The misfortune is, that we can never be eaſy till we are drunk; and our drunkenneſs conſtantly expoſes us to be more eaſily betrayed and taken.

This is a ſhort picture of the life I have led; which is more miſerable than that of the pooreſt labourer who works for four pence a day; and yet, cuſtom is ſo ſtrong, that, I am confident, if I could make my eſcape at the foot of the gallows, I ſhould be following the ſame courſe this very evening. So that, upon the whole, we ought to be looked upon as the common enemies of mankind; whoſe intereſt it is to root us out, like wolves, and other miſchievous vermin, againſt which no fair play is required.

If I have done ſervice to men, in what I have ſaid, I ſhall hope I have done ſervice to God; and that will be better than a ſilly ſpeech made for me, full of whining and canting, which I utterly deſpiſe, and have never been uſed to; yet ſuch a one I expect to have my ears tormented with, as I am paſſing along the ſtreets.

Good people, fare ye well; bad as I am, I leave many worſe behind me. I hope you ſhall ſee me die like a man the death of a dog.

THE

THE INTELLIGENCER.*

NUMBER I.

IT may be ſaid, without offence to other *cities* of much greater conſequence to the world, that our town of Dublin doth not want its due proportion of *folly* and *vice* both native and imported; and as to thoſe imported, we have the advantage

* The *Intelligencer* was a weekly paper, undertaken by the Dean and Dr. Sheridan in 1728, of which no more than twenty numbers were ever publiſhed. The 1ſt, 3d, 5th, 7th, 9th, ſome verſes in the 8th, and at the end of the 10th, the 15th, and the 19th, were written by the Dean. The 5th and 7th, are put together, and printed as they were publiſhed by Mr. Pope in the 4th volume of their miſcellanies, under the title of *An Eſſay on the Fates of Clergymen*, vol. 10th. The poetry in the 8th, is the dialogue between *Mad Mculynox and Timothy*, which is printed, as it was alſo claſſed by Mr. Pope, in vol. 8th. The 9th he intitled *An Eſſay on Modern Education*, and by that name it will be found in vol. 10th; the verſes at the end of the 10th, called *Tim and the Fables*, are printed in vol. 9th. The 15th is a pamphlet which Dr. Sheridan, having written a ſhort introduction, took into the *Intelligencer*, merely to ſave the labour of writing a paper. It is printed in volume 4th, and intitled, *A ſhort View of the State of Ireland.* No. 19th, is alſo a tract which has been before publiſhed by itſelf, and was taken into the *Intelligencer* for the ſame reaſon as the former. The Dean and the Doctor ſoon became weary of a periodical work, in which they were diſappointed of aſſiſtance: the price was but one halfpenny; and ſo few were ſold, that the printer could not afford to engage a young man of proper qualifications to work up ſuch hints as ſhould be ſent him; of which there were enow, and which the undertakers hoped thus to communicate with leſs labour to the public. The *Intelligencers* were collected into a volume, and reprinted in England in 1730.

advantage to receive them laſt, and conſequently, after our happy manner, to improve and refine upon them.

But, becauſe there are many effects of *folly* and *vice* among us, whereof ſome are *general*, others confined to ſmaller numbers, and others again perhaps to a few *individuals*; there is a *ſociety* lately eſtabliſhed, who, at great expence, have erected an *office of intelligence*, from which they are to receive weekly information of all *important events* and *ſingularities*, which this famous *metropolis* can furniſh. Strict injunctions are given to have the trueſt information; in order to which, certain qualified perſons are employed to attend upon duty in their ſeveral poſts; ſome at the *play-houſe*, others in *churches*, ſome at *balls*, *aſſemblies*, *coffee-houſes*, and *meetings* for *quadrille*; ſome at the ſeveral *courts of juſtice*, both *ſpiritual* and *temporal*; ſome at the *college*, ſome upon my *lord-mayor* and *aldermen* in their public affairs; laſtly, ſome to converſe with *favourite chamber-maids*, and to frequent thoſe *ale-houſes* and *brandy-ſhops* where the *footmen* of great families meet in a morning; only the * Barracks and *parliament-houſe* are excepted: becauſe we have yet found no † *enfans perdus* bold enough to venture their perſons at either. Out of theſe, and ſome other *ſtore-houſes*, we hope to gather materials enow to *inform*, or *divert*, or *correct*, or *vex* the town.

* Barracks, Buildings for the lodgement of ſoldiers.

† *Enfans perdus*, Forlorn hope. See preface to the Biſhop of Sarum's introduction, vol. 7.

But as *facts*, *paſſages*, and adventures of all kinds are like to have the greateſt ſhare in our *paper*, whereof we cannot always anſwer for the truth; due care ſhall be taken to have them applied to feigned names, whereby all juſt offence will be removed; for, if none be guilty, none will have cauſe to bluſh or be angry; if otherwiſe, then the guilty perſon is ſafe for the future upon his *preſent* amendment, and ſafe for the *preſent* from all but his *own conſcience*.

There is another reſolution taken among us, which I fear will give a greater and more general diſcontent, and is of ſo ſingular a nature, that I have hardly confidence enough to mention it, although it be abſolutely neceſſary by way of apology for *ſo bold and unpopular an attempt*. But ſo it is, that we have taken a deſperate counſel to produce into the world every diſtinguiſhed action, either of *juſtice*, *prudence*, *generoſity*, *charity*, *friendſhip*, or *public ſpirit*, which comes well atteſted to us. And although we ſhall neither here be ſo daring as to aſſign names, yet we ſhall hardly forbear to give ſome hints, that, perhaps, to the great diſpleaſure of ſuch deſerving perſons, may endanger a diſcovery. For we think that even *virtue itſelf* ſhould ſubmit to ſuch a *mortification*, as by its *viſibility* and example will render it more uſeful to the world. But however, the *readers* of theſe *papers* need not be in pain of being overcharged with ſo dull and ungrateful a ſubject. And yet, who knows but ſuch an occaſion may be offered to us once in a year or two,

after

after we have ſettled a correſpondence round the *kingdom?*

But after all our boaſts of *materials* ſent us by our ſeveral *emiſſaries*, we may probably ſoon fall ſhort, if the town will not be pleaſed to lend us further aſſiſtance towards entertaining itſelf. The *world* beſt knows its own *faults* and *virtues*, and whatever is ſent ſhall be faithfully returned back, only a little embelliſhed according to the cuſtom of AUTHORS. We do therefore *demand* and *expect* continual *advertiſements* in great numbers to be ſent to the PRINTER of this *paper*, who hath employed a *judicious ſecretary* to collect ſuch as may be moſt uſeful for the *public*.

And although we do not intend to expoſe our own perſons by mentioning names, yet we are ſo far from requiring the ſame caution in our *correſpondence*, that, on the contrary, we expreſly *charge* and *command* them, in all the facts they ſend us, to ſet down the names, titles, and places of abode, at length; together with a very particular deſcription of the *perſons*, *dreſſes*, *diſpoſitions* of the ſeveral *lords*, *ladies*, *'ſquires*, *madams*, *lawyers*, *gameſters*, *toupees*, *ſots*, *wits*, *rakes*, *and informers*, whom they ſhall have occaſion to mention; otherwiſe it will not be poſſible for us to adjuſt our ſtyle to the different qualities and capacities of the perſons concerned, and treat them with the *reſpect* or *familiarity*, that may be due to their *ſtations* and *characters*, which we are determined to obſerve with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs, that none may have cauſe to complain.

NUMBER III.

Ipſe per omnes
Ibit perſonas, et turbam reddet in unam.

THE *players* having now almoſt done with the comedy called the Beggar's Opera for the ſeaſon, it may be no unpleaſant ſpeculation, to reflect a little upon this *dramatic piece*, ſo ſingular in the ſubject and manner, ſo much an original, and which hath frequently given ſo very agreeable an entertainment.

Although an evil taſte be very apt to prevail, both here and in London; yet there is a point, which, whoever can rightly touch, will never fail of pleaſing a very great majority; ſo great, that the diſlikers out of dulneſs or affectation, will be ſilent, and forced to fall in with the herd: the point I mean, is what we call *humour*; which, in its perfection, is allowed to be much preferable to *wit*; if it be not rather the moſt uſeful and agreeable ſpecies of it.

I agree with Sir William Temple, that the word is peculiar to our Engliſh *tongue*; but I differ from him in the opinion, that the thing itſelf is peculiar to the Engliſh *nation*, becauſe the contrary may be found in many Spaniſh, Italian, and French productions: and particularly, whoever hath a *taſte* for *true humour* will find an hundred inſtances of it in thoſe volumes printed in France under the name of Le Theatre Italien; to ſay nothing of Rabelais, Cervantes, and many others.

Now

Now I take the *comedy*, or *farce*, (or whatever name the *critics* will allow it) called the Beggar's Opera, to excel in this article of *humour*; and upon that merit, to have met with ſuch prodigious ſucceſs, both here and in England.

As to *poetry*, *eloquence*, and *muſic*, which are ſaid to have moſt power over the minds of men; it is certain that very few have a *taſte* or *judgement* of the excellencies of the two former: and if a man ſucceed in either, it is upon the authority of thoſe *few judges*, that lend their *taſte* to the bulk of readers, who have none of their own. I am told there are as few good judges in *muſic*; and that among thoſe who crowd the *operas*, nine in ten go thither merely out of *curioſity*, *faſhion*, or *affectation*.

But a *taſte* for *humour* is in ſome manner fixed to the very nature of man, and generally obvious to the vulgar, except upon ſubjects too refined, and ſuperior to their underſtanding.

And, as this *taſte* of *humour* is purely natural, ſo is *humour* itſelf; neither is it a *talent* confined to men of *wit* or *learning*: for we obſerve it ſometimes among common ſervants, and the meaneſt of the people, while the very owners are often ignorant of the gift they poſſeſs.

I know very well, that this happy *talent* is contemptibly treated by *critics* under the name of *low humour*, or *low comedy*; but I know likewiſe that the Spaniards and Italians, who are allowed to have the moſt wit of any nations in Europe, do moſt excel in it, and do moſt eſteem it.

By what diſpoſition of the mind, what influence of the ſtars, or what ſituation of the *climate*, this endowment is beſtowed upon mankind, may be a queſtion fit for *philoſophers* to diſcuſs. It is certainly the beſt ingredient towards that kind of ſatire, which is moſt uſeful and gives the leaſt offence; which, inſtead of laſhing, laughs men out of their follies and vices; and is the character, that gives Horace the preference to Juvenal.

And, although ſome things are too ſerious, ſolemn, or ſacred to be turned into ridicule, yet the abuſes of them are certainly not; ſince it is allowed that corruptions in *religion*, *politics*, and *law*, may be proper *topics* for this kind of *ſatire*.

There are two ends, that men propoſe in writing ſatire: one of them leſs noble than the other, as regarding nothing further than the private ſatisfaction and pleaſure of the writer; but without any view towards *perſonal malice*: the other is a *public ſpirit*, prompting men of *genius* and virtue to mend the world as far as they are able. And as both theſe ends are innocent, ſo the latter is highly commendable. With regard to the former, I demand, whether I have not as good a title to laugh as men have to be ridiculous; and to expoſe vice, as another hath to be vicious. If I ridicule the follies and corruptions of a *court*, a *miniſtry*, or a *ſenate*, are they not amply paid by *penſions*, *titles*, and *power*, while I expect and deſire no other reward, than that of laughing with a few friends in a corner? Yet if thoſe, who take offence,

fence, think me in the wrong, I am ready to change the ſcene with them whenever they pleaſe.

But, if my deſign be to make mankind better, then I think it is my duty; at leaſt, I am ſure it is the intereſt of thoſe very *courts* and *miniſters*, whoſe follies or vices I ridicule, to reward me for my good intentions: for if it be reckoned a high point of wiſdom to get the laughers on our ſide; it is much more eaſy, as well as wiſe, to get thoſe on our ſide, who can make millions laugh when they pleaſe.

My reaſon for mentioning *courts* and *miniſters*, (*whom I never think on but with the moſt profound veneration*) is, becauſe an opinion obtains, that in the Beggar's Opera there appears to be ſome reflection upon *courtiers* and *ſtateſmen*, whereof I am by no means a judge.

It is true indeed, that Mr. GAY, the author of this piece, hath been ſomewhat ſingular in the courſe of his fortunes; for it hath happened, that after fourteen years attending the *court*, with a large ſtock of real merit, a modeſt and agreeable converſation, a *hundred promiſes*, and *five hundred friends*, he hath failed of preferment; and upon a very weighty reaſon; he lay under the ſuſpicion of having written a libel, or lampoon againſt a great * miniſter. It is true, that great miniſter was demonſtratively convinced, and publicly owned his conviction, that Mr. GAY was not the author; but having lain under the ſuſpicion, it ſeemed very juſt, that he ſhould ſuffer the puniſhment;

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford.

niſhment; becauſe, in this moſt reformed age, the virtues of a prime miniſter are no more to be ſuſpected, than the chaſtity of Cæſar's wife.

It muſt be allowed, that the Beggar's Opera is not the firſt of Mr. GAY's works, wherein he hath been faulty with regard to *courtiers* and *ſtateſmen*. For to omit his other pieces; even in his fables, publiſhed within two years paſt, and dedicated to the duke of CUMBERLAND, for which he was promiſed a reward, he hath been thought ſomewhat too bold upon the *courtiers*. And although it be highly probable, he meant only the courtiers of former times, yet he acted unwarily, by not conſidering, that the malignity of ſome people might miſinterpret what he ſaid to the diſadvantage of preſent *perſons* and affairs.

But I have now done with Mr. Gay as a politician; and ſhall conſider him henceforward only as author of the Beggar's Opera, wherein he hath, by a turn of *humour*, entirely new, placed vices of all kinds, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt odious light; and thereby done eminent ſervice both to *religion* and *morality*. This appears from the unparalleled ſucceſs he hath met with: all *ranks*, *parties*, and *denominations* of men, either crowding to ſee his *opera*, or reading it with delight in their cloſets; even miniſters of ſtate, whom he is thought to have moſt offended (next to thoſe whom the actors repreſent) appearing frequently at the *theatre*, from a conſciouſneſs of their own innocence, and to convince the world how

how unjuſt a parallel, *malice*, *envy*, and *diſaffection to the government* have made.

I am aſſured, that ſeveral worthy *clergymen* in this *city*, went privately to ſee the Beggar's Opera repreſented; and that the *fleering coxcombs* in the *pit*, amuſed themſelves with making diſcoveries, and ſpreading the names of thoſe gentlemen round the audience.

I ſhall not pretend to vindicate a *clergyman*, who would appear openly in his habit at a *theatre*, with ſuch a vicious crew as might probably ſtand round him, at ſuch *comedies* and profane *tragedies* as are often repreſented. Beſides, I know very well, that perſons of their function are bound to avoid the appearance of evil, or of giving cauſe of offence. But when the *lord chancellors*, who are keepers of the king's conſcience; when the *judges* of the land, whoſe title is *reverend*; when *ladies*, who are bound, by the rules of their ſex, to the ſtricteſt decency, appear in the *theatre* without cenſure; I cannot underſtand, why a young *clergyman*, who goes concealed, out of curioſity, to ſee an innocent and moral play, ſhould be ſo highly condemned: nor do I much approve the rigour of a great prelate, who ſaid, *He hoped none of his clergy were there.* I am glad to hear there are no weightier objections againſt that reverend body planted in this city, and I wiſh there never may. But I ſhould be very ſorry, that any of them ſhould be ſo weak, as to imitate a *court-chaplain* in ENGLAND, who preached againſt the Beggar's Opera, which will probably

do

do more good, than a thouſand ſermons of ſo ſtupid, ſo injudicious, and ſo proſtitute a divine. *

In this happy performance of Mr. GAY, all the characters are juſt, and none of them carried beyond nature, or hardly beyond practice. It diſcovers the whole ſyſtem of that commonwealth, or that *imperium in imperio* of iniquity, eſtabliſhed among us, by which neither our lives, nor our properties are ſecure, either in the high-ways, or in public aſſemblies, or even in our own houſes. It ſhews the miſerable lives, and the conſtant fate of thoſe abandoned wretches: for how little they ſell their lives and ſouls; betrayed by their *whores*, their *comrades*, and the *receivers* and *purchaſers* of thoſe thefts and robberies. This *comedy* contains likewiſe a *ſatire*, which, without enquiring whether it affects the preſent age, may poſſibly be uſeful in times to come. I mean, where the author takes the occaſion of comparing thoſe *common robbers of the public*, and their ſeveral ſtratagems of betraying, undermining, and hanging each other, to the ſeveral arts of *politicians* in times of corruption.

This *comedy* likewiſe expoſeth, with great juſtice, that unnatural taſte for Italian muſic among us, which is wholly unſuitable to our northern *climate*, and the genius of the people, whereby we are over-run with Italian *effeminacy*, and Italian nonſenſe. An old gentleman ſaid to me, that many

* Dr. Thomas Heron, chaplain to the ſociety at Lincoln's inn, afterward biſhop of Bangor, after that archbiſhop of York, and now archbiſhop of Canterbury.

many years ago, when the practice of an unnatural vice grew frequent in London, and many were profecuted for it, he was ſure it would be the forerunner of Italian operas and fingers; and then we ſhould want nothing but ſtabbing, or poiſoning, to make us perfect Italians.

Upon the whole, I deliver my judgment, that nothing but ſervile attachment to a party, affectation of ſingularity, lamentable dullneſs, miſtaken zeal, or ſtudied hypocriſy, can have the leaſt reaſonable objection againſt this excellent moral performance of the celebrated Mr. GAY.

NUMBER XV. *

LAMENTATIONS ii. 19.

Ariſe, cry out in the night: in the beginning of the watches, pour out thine heart like water before the face of the Lord: lift up thy hands towards him, for the life of thy young children, that faint for hunger in the top of every ſtreet.

I Remember to have read an account, that an ode which Pindar writ in honour of the iſland Delos, was inſcribed in the temple of Minerva at Athens, in large letters of gold. A public and very laudable acknowledgement for the poet's ingenuity, and for no more than a bare compliment! Such was the encouragement given by the great and public ſpirited Athenians. Had the ſame poet, inſpired by a noble and heroic ardor,

* See above, p. 384. in the notes.

dor, by another ode, awakened and rouſed their whole ſtate againſt an invading enemy, or opened their eyes againſt any ſecret and wicked contrivers of their deſtruction, they would have erected him a ſtatue at leaſt. But, alas! that ſpirit is fled from the world, and long ſince neglected. Virtue is become her own pay-maſter. My countrymen, I hope, will forgive me, if I complain there has been ſo little notice taken of a ſmall, but moſt excellent pamphlet, written by the *Drapier*. It is entitled, *A ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland* [above, p. 113.]—There never was any treatiſe yet publiſhed, with a zeal more generous for the univerſal good of a nation, or a deſign more ſeaſonable, conſidering our preſent lamentable condition: yet we liſten not to the voice of the charmer. Whereas it ſhould have been inſcribed in capital letters (as glorious as thoſe of the poet) in the moſt public part of every corporation-town, through this whole kingdom, that people might behold the ſeveral unprovoked cauſes of their poverty, our offences towards heaven excepted. Nay, I will proceed farther, and ſay, that every head of every family ought to inſtruct his children, ſo far in this moſt *incomparable pamphlet*, that they ſhould not only underſtand, but be able to repeat by heart, every ſingle paragraph through the whole. This was the method laid down by the wiſeſt law-giver that ever the world produced, to gain the hearts of the people, by working upon their memories: Deut. vi. 7. 8. 9. *And thou ſhall teach them diligently unto thy children,*

children, and ſhalt talk of them when thou ſitteſt in thine houſe, and when thou walkeſt by the way, and when thou lieſt down, and when thou riſeſt up. And thou ſhalt bind them for a ſign upon thine hand, and they ſhall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And thou ſhalt write them upon the poſts of thy houſe, and on thy gates.'

And where would be the great trouble, ſince we have little elſe to do, if every man would read a lecture of the *ſhort view* every day in his family, after reading prayers? Nor do I think the expence would be extravagant, if he ſhould have every page of it reprinted, to be hung up in frames, in every chamber of his houſe; that it might be as evident as the *hand-writing on the wall.*

And ſince I have ventured thus far to praiſe and recommend this moſt inimitable piece, let me ſpeak a few words in favour of its author.

I would propoſe to my countrymen, before all their money goes off (it is going as faſt as poſſible) to convert it into a few ſtatues to the *Drapier*, in thoſe memorable parts of this kingdom, where our heroes have ſhone with the greateſt luſtre, in defence of our *liberty*, and the *Proteſtant Religion* over all Europe; at *Derry*, at *Enniſkillen*, at *Boyne*, at *Aughrim.* Nor would it be amiſs to ſet up a few more about our *metropolis*, with that glorious inſcription, *Libertas et Natale Solum.*

If our money were metamorphoſed upon ſuch a good occaſion as this, it would not be in the power of any Cypſelus *, to get it into his own

* Cypſelus, a governor of Corinth, who contrived a tax which brought all the money of that ſtate to himſelf in ten years time. *Ariſt. Polit.*

coffers; and it would be the only method to prevent its being carried off, except our viceroys ſhould act like the Roman prefects, and run away with our very ſtatues.

Courteous reader, mark well what follows.

"I am aſſured, that it hath for ſome time been "practiſed," &c. [Here *the ſhort view of the ſtate of Ireland*, above, p. 113. was inſerted verbatim.]

NUMBER XIX.

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves.

[*N. B.* In the following diſcourſe the author perſonates a country gentleman in the North of Ireland. And this letter is ſuppoſed as directed to the Drapier.]

HAVING, on the 12th of October laſt, received a letter, ſigned *Andrew Dealer*, and *Patrick Pennyleſs*, I believe the following paper, juſt come to my hands, will be a ſufficient anſwer to it.

SIR,

I AM a country gentleman, and a member of *parliament*, with an eſtate of about 1400l. a year; which, as a *northern* landlord, I receive from above two hundred tenants: and my lands having been let near twenty years ago, the rents, until very lately, were eſteemed to be not above half value; yet by the intolerable ſcarcity of *ſilver*, I lie under the greateſt difficulties in receiving them, as well as in paying my labourers, or buying any thing neceſſary for my family from *tradeſmen*,

tradeſmen, who are not able to be long out of their *money*. But the ſufferings of me, and thoſe of my rank, are trifles in compariſon of what the meaner ſort undergo; ſuch as, the *buyers* and *ſellers* at *fairs* and *markets*; the *ſhopkeepers* in every *town*; the *farmers* in general; all thoſe who travel with *fiſh*, *poultry*, *pedlary ware*, and other conveniencies to ſell; but more eſpecially *handicrafts-men*, who work for us by the day; and common labourers, whom I have already mentioned. Both theſe kind of people I am forced to employ until their wages amount to a *double piſtole*, or a *moidore*, (for we hardly have any *gold* of lower value left us) to divide it among themſelves as they can: and this is generally done at an *ale-houſe*, or *brandy-ſhop*; where, beſides the coſt of getting *drunk*, (which is uſually the caſe) they muſt pay *ten-pence* or a *ſhilling* for changing their *piece* into *ſilver* to ſome *buckſtering fellow*, who follows that *trade*. But, what is infinitely worſe, thoſe poor men, for want of due payment, are forced to take up their *oat meal* and other neceſſaries of life at almoſt double value; and conſequently, are not able to diſcharge half their ſcore, eſpecially under the ſcarceneſs of *corn* for two years paſt, and the melancholy diſappointment of the preſent *crop*.

The cauſes of this, and a thouſand other evils, are clear and manifeſt to you and all thinking men, although hidden from the vulgar: theſe indeed complain of hard times, the dearth of corn, the want of money, the badneſs of ſeaſons; that their goods bear no price, and the poor cannot

find work: but their weak reaſonings never carry them to the hatred and contempt borne us by our neighbours and brethren without the leaſt grounds of provocation, who rejoice at our ſufferings, although ſometimes to their own diſadvantage. They conſider not the dead weight upon every beneficial branch of our trade; that half our revenues are annually ſent to England; with many other grievances peculiar to this unhappy kingdom; which keeps us from enjoying the common benefits of mankind; as you and ſome other lovers of their country have ſo often obſerved with ſuch good inclinations, and ſo little effect.

It is true indeed, that under our circumſtances in general, this complaint for the want of *ſilver* may appear as ridiculous, as for a man to be impatient about a *cut finger*, when he is ſtruck with the *plague*: and yet a poor fellow going to the *gallows* may be allowed to feel the ſmart of *waſps*, while he is upon Tyburn road. This misfortune is ſo urging and vexatious in every kind of ſmall traffic, and ſo hourly preſſing upon all perſons in the country whatſoever, that a hundred inconveniencies of perhaps greater moment in themſelves, have been tamely ſubmitted to with far leſs diſquietude and murmurs. And the caſe ſeems yet the harder, if it be true, what many ſkilful men aſſert, that nothing is more eaſy than a remedy; and, that the want of *ſilver*, in proportion to the little *gold* remaining among us, is altogether as unneceſſary as it is inconvenient. A perſon of diſtinction aſſured me very lately, that, in diſcourſing with the

the * *lord lieutenant* before his laſt return to England, his *excellency* ſaid, *He had preſſed the matter often, in proper time and place, and to proper perſons; and could not ſee any difficulty of the leaſt moment, that could prevent us from being made eaſy upon this article.*

Whoever carries to England twenty ſeven Engliſh ſhillings, and brings back one *moidore* of full weight, is a gainer of nine-pence Iriſh: in a *guinea*, the advantage is three-pence; and two-pence in a *piſtole*. The BANKERS, who are generally maſters of all our *gold* and *ſilver*, with this advantage, have ſent over as much of the latter, as came into their hands. The value of one thouſand *moidores* in *ſilver* would thus amount in clear profit to 37 *l.* 10 *s.* The *ſhopkeepers*, and other *traders*, who go to London to buy goods, followed the ſame practice; by which we have been driven into this inſupportable diſtreſs.

To a common thinker it ſhould ſeem, that nothing would be more eaſy, than for the *government* to redreſs this evil, at any time they ſhall pleaſe. When the value of *guineas* was lowered in England from 21 *s.* 6 *d.* to only 21 *s.* the conſequences to this kingdom were obvious and manifeſt to us all: and a ſober man may be allowed at leaſt to wonder, although he dare not complain, why a new regulation of *coin* among us was not then made; much more, why it hath never been ſince. It would ſurely require no very profound ſkill in algebra to reduce the difference of *nine-pence* in *thirty ſhillings*, or *three-pence* in a *guinea*,

* The Lord Carteret.

to leſs than a *farthing*; and ſo ſmall a fraction could be no temptation either to *bankers* to hazard their *ſilver* at ſea, or tradeſmen to load themſelves with it in their journies to England. In my humble opinion it would be no unſeaſonable condeſcenſion, if the *government* would graciouſly pleaſe to ſignify to the *poor loyal proteſtant ſubjects* of Ireland, either that this miſerable want of *ſilver* is not poſſible to be remedied in any degree by the niceſt ſkill in arithmetic; or elſe, that it doth not ſtand with the good pleaſure of England, to ſuffer any *ſilver* at all among us. In the former caſe, it would be madneſs to expect impoſſibilities; and in the other, we muſt ſubmit: for lives and fortunes are always at the mercy of the *conqueror*.

The queſtion hath been often put in *printed papers*, by the *Drapier* and others, or perhaps by the ſame *writer* under different ſtyles, why this kingdom ſhould not be permitted to have a *mint* of its own for the coinage of *gold*, *ſilver* and *copper*; which is a power exerciſed by many *biſhops*, and every petty prince in Germany? But this queſtion hath never been anſwered; nor the leaſt application, that I have heard of, made to the *crown* from hence, for the grant of a *public mint*; although it ſtands upon record, that ſeveral cities and corporations here had the liberty of *coining ſilver*. I can ſee no reaſons, why we alone of all nations are thus reſtrained, but ſuch as I dare not mention: only thus far I may venture, that Ireland is the firſt imperial kingdom

ſince

ſince Nimrod, which ever wanted power to *coin* their own *money*.

I know very well, that in England it is lawful for any ſubject to petition either the *prince* or the *parliament*, provided it be done in a dutiful and regular manner: but what is lawful for a ſubject of Ireland, I profeſs I cannot determine: nor will undertake, that your *printer* ſhall not be proſecuted in a *court of juſtice*, for publiſhing my *wiſhes*, that a poor ſhop-keeper might be able to change a *guinea* or a *moidore* when a cuſtomer comes for a *crown's* worth of goods. I have known leſs crimes puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity, under the title of *diſaffection*. And I cannot but approve the wiſdom of the *ancients*, who, after Aſtrea had fled from the earth, at leaſt took care to provide *three upright judges for hell*. Mens ears among us are indeed grown ſo nice, that whoever happens to think out of faſhion, in what relates to the welfare of this kingdom, dare not ſo much as complain of the *toothach*, leſt our weak and buſy dabblers in politics ſhould be ready to ſwear againſt him for *diſaffection*.

There was a method practiſed by Sir Ambroſe Crawley, the great dealer in *iron-works*, which I wonder the gentlemen of our country under this great exigence have not thought fit to imitate. In the ſeveral towns and villages where he dealt, and many miles round, he gave *notes* inſtead of *money* (from *two pence* to *twenty ſhillings*) which paſſed current in all ſhops and markets, as well as in houſes, where meat or drink was ſold. I

ſee

ſee no reaſon, why the like practice may not be introduced among us with ſome degree of ſucceſs; or at leaſt may not ſerve as a *poor* expedient in this our *bleſſed age of paper*; which as it diſchargeth all our greateſt payments, may be equally uſeful in the ſmaller, and may juſt keep us alive, until an Engliſh *act of parliament ſhall forbid it.*

I have been told, that among ſome of our pooreſt American colonies upon the continent, the people enjoy the liberty of cutting the little *money* among them into halves and quarters for the conveniencies of ſmall traffic. How happy ſhould we be, in compariſon of our preſent condition, if the like privilege were granted to us of employing the ſheers for want of a *mint*, upon our *foreign gold*, by clipping it into *half-crowns*, and *ſhillings*, and even lower denominations; for beggars muſt be content to live upon ſcraps; and it would be our felicity, that theſe ſcraps would never be exported to other countries, while any thing better was left.

If neither of theſe projects will avail, I ſee nothing left us but to truck and barter our goods like the *wild* Indians with each other, or with our too powerful neighbours; only with this diſadvantage on our ſide, that the Indians enjoy the product of their own land; whereas the better half of ours is ſent away, without ſo much as a recompence in *bugles* or *glaſs* in return.

It muſt needs be a very comfortable circumſtance in the preſent juncture, that ſome thouſand families are gone, are going, or preparing

to

to go from hence and ſettle themſelves in America: the poorer ſort for want of work; the farmers, whoſe beneficial bargains are now become a rack-rent too hard to be borne, and thoſe who have any *ready money*, or can purchaſe any by the ſale of their goods or leaſes, becauſe they find their fortunes hourly decaying, that their goods will bear no price, and that few or none have any *money* to buy the very neceſſaries of life, are haſtening to follow their departed neighbours. It is true, *corn* among us carries a very high price; but it is for the ſame reaſon, that *rats* and *cats* and dead *horſes* have been often bought for *gold* in a town beſieged.

There is a perſon of quality in my neighbourhood, who, twenty years ago, when he was juſt come to age, being unexperienced and of a generous temper, let his lands, even as times went then, at a low rate to able tenants; and conſequently, by the riſe of land ſince that time, looked upon his eſtate to be ſet at half value: but numbers of theſe tenants, or their deſcendants, are now offering to ſell their leaſes by cant, * even thoſe which were for lives, ſome of them renewable for ever, and ſome fee-farms, which the landlord himſelf hath bought in at half the price they would have yielded ſeven years ago. And ſome leaſes let at the ſame time for lives, have been given up to him without any conſideration at all.

This is the moſt favourable face of things at preſent among us; I ſay among us of the North, who

* Cant or auction.

who are eſteemed the only thriving people of the kingdom. And how far, and how ſoon this miſery and deſolation may ſpread, is eaſy to foreſee.

The vaſts ſums of *money* daily carried off by our numerous adventurers to America, have deprived us of our *gold* in theſe parts, almoſt as much as of our *ſilver*. And the good wives who come to our houſes offer us their pieces of linen, upon which their whole dependence lies, for ſo little profit, that it can neither half pay their rents, nor half ſupport their families.

It is remarkable, that this enthuſiaſm ſpread among our Northern people, of ſheltering themſelves in the continent of America, hath no other foundation than their preſent inſupportable condition at home. I have made all poſſible inquiries to learn what encouragement our people have met with, by any intelligence from thoſe plantations, ſufficient to make them undertake ſo tedious and hazardous a voyage, in all ſeaſons of the year, and ſo ill accommodated in their ſhips, that many of them have died miſerably in their paſſage; but could never get one ſatisfactory anſwer. Somebody, they know not who, had written a letter to his friend or couſin from thence, inviting him by all means to come over; that it was a fine fruitful country, and to be held for ever at a *penny* an acre. But the truth of the fact is this: the Engliſh eſtabliſhed in thoſe colonies are in great want of men to inhabit that tract of ground, which lies between them and the *wild* Indians, who are not reduced under their dominion.

dominion. We read of ſome barbarous people, whom the Romans placed in their army for no other ſervice than to blunt their enemies ſwords, and afterwards to fill up trenches with their dead bodies. And thus our people, who tranſport themſelves, are ſettled in thoſe interjacent tracts, as a ſcreen againſt the inſults of the *ſavages*; and may have as much lands as they can clear from the woods at a very reaſonable rate, if they can afford to pay about a *hundred* years purchaſe by their labour. Now, beſides the *fox*'s reaſon, * which inclines all thoſe who have already ventured thither to repreſent every thing in a falſe light, as well for juſtifying their own conduct, as for getting companions in their miſery; the governing people in thoſe plantations have alſo wiſely provided, that no letters ſhall be ſuffered to paſs from thence hither, without being firſt viewed by the council; by which our people here are wholly deceived in the opinions they have of the happy condition of their friends gone before them. This was accidentally diſcovered ſome months ago by an honeſt man, who having tranſported himſelf and family thither, and finding all things directly contrary to his hope, had the luck to convey a private note by a faithful hand to his relation here, entreating him not to think of ſuch a voyage, and to diſcourage all his friends from attempting it. Yet this, although it be a truth well known, hath produced very little

* The fox who, having loſt his tail, would have perſuaded the reſt to cut off theirs.

little effect; which is no manner of wonder: for as it is natural to a man in a *fever* to turn often, although without any hope of eaſe; or when he is purſued, to leap down a precipice to avoid an enemy juſt at his back; ſo, men in the extremeſt degree of miſery and want will naturally fly to the firſt appearance of relief, let it be ever ſo vain or viſionary.

You may obſerve, that I have very ſuperficially touched the ſubject I began with, and with the utmoſt caution: for I know how criminal the leaſt complaint hath been thought, however ſeaſonable, or juſt, or honeſtly intended; which hath forced me to offer up my daily prayers, that it may never, at leaſt in my time, be interpreted by inuendos as a falſe, ſcandalous, ſeditious, and diſaffected action for a man to roar under an acute fit of the *gout*; which, beſide the loſs and the danger, would be very inconvenient to one of my age, ſo ſeverely afflicted with that diſtemper.

I wiſh you good ſucceſs, but I can promiſe you little, in an ungrateful office you have taken up, without the leaſt view either to reputation or profit. Perhaps your comfort is, that none but *villains* and *betrayers* of their country can be your *enemies*. Upon which I have little to ſay, having not the honour to be acquainted with many of that ſort; and therefore, as you may eaſily believe, am compelled to lead a very retired life.

I am, Sir, Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

County of Down,
Dec. 2. 1728.

A. NORTH.

A ſhort

A ſhort CHARACTER of his Excellency THOMAS EARL of WHARTON, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:—With an Account of ſome ſmaller Facts during his Government, which will not be put into the Articles of Impeachment.

Aug. 30. 1710.

THE kingdom of Ireland being governed by deputation from hence, its annals, ſince the Engliſh eſtabliſhment, are uſually digeſted under the heads of the ſeveral governors: but the affairs and events of that iſland, for ſome years paſt, have been either ſo inſignificant, or ſo annexed to thoſe of England, that they have not furniſhed matter of any great importance to hiſtory. The ſhare of honour, which gentlemen from thence have had by their conduct and employments in the army, turns all to the article of this kingdom; the reſt, which relates to politics or the art of government, is inconſiderable to the laſt degree, however it may be repreſented at court by thoſe who preſide there, and would value themſelves upon every ſtep they make, towards finiſhing the ſlavery of that people, as if it were gaining a mighty point to the advantage of England.

Generally ſpeaking, the times which afford moſt plentiful matter for ſtory, are thoſe in which a man would leaſt chooſe to live; ſuch as under the various events and revolutions of war, the intrigues of a ruined faction, or the violence of a prevailing one, and laſtly, the arbitrary, un-

lawful acts of oppreſſing governors. In the war, Ireland has no ſhare but in ſubordination to us; the ſame may be ſaid of their factions, which, at preſent, are but imperfect tranſcripts of ours: but the third ſubject for hiſtory, which is arbitrary power and oppreſſion, as it is that by which the people of Ireland have, for ſome time, been diſtinguiſhed from all her majeſty's ſubjects, ſo being now at its greateſt height under his excellency T. E. of W. a ſhort account of his government, may be of ſome uſe or entertainment to the preſent age, though I hope it will be incredible to the next. And becauſe this account may be judged rather an hiſtory of his excellency, than of his government, I muſt here declare that I have not the leaſt view to his perſon in any part of it. I have had the honour of much converſation with his lordſhip, and am thoroughly convinced how indifferent he is to applauſe, and how inſenſible of reproach: which is not a humour put on to ſerve a turn, or keep a countenance, nor ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of innocence, or any grandeur of mind, but the mere unaffected bent of his nature.

He is without the ſenſe of ſhame or glory, as ſome men are without the ſenſe of ſmelling; and, therefore, a good name to him is no more than a precious ointment would be to theſe. Whoever, for the ſake of others, were to deſcribe the nature of a ſerpent, a wolf, a crocodile, or a fox, muſt be underſtood to do it without any perſonal love or hatred for the animals themſelves.

In

In the ſame manner, his excellency is one whom I neither perſonally love nor hate. I ſee him at court, at his own houſe, and ſometimes at mine, (for I have the honour of his viſits) and when theſe papers are public, it is odds but he will tell me, as he once did upon a like occaſion, that he is damnably mauled; and then with the eaſieſt tranſition in the world, aſk about the weather, or time of the day: ſo that I enter on the work with more chearfulneſs, becauſe I am ſure neither to make him angry, nor any way hurt his reputation; a pitch of happineſs and ſecurity to which his excellency has arrived, and which no philoſopher before him could reach.

I intend to execute this performance, by firſt giving a character of his excellency, and then relating ſome facts during his government, which will ſerve to confirm it.

I know very well, that mens characters are beſt known from their actions; but, theſe being confined to his adminiſtration in Ireland, his character may, perhaps, take in ſomething more, which the narrowneſs of the time, or the ſcene, hath not given him opportunity to exert.

T——s earl of W——n, l—d l——t of I——d, by the force of a wonderful conſtitution, hath paſſed, ſome years, his grand climacteric, without any viſible effects of old age, either on his body or his mind, and in ſpite of a continual proſtitution to thoſe vices which uſually wear out both. His behaviour is in all the forms of a young man at five and twenty. Whe-

ther he walks, or whiſtles, or ſwears, or talks bawdy, or calls names, he acquits himſelf in each beyond a templar of three years ſtanding. With the ſame grace, and in the ſame ſtyle, he will rattle his coachman in the middle of the ſtreet, where he is governor of the kingdom: and all this is without conſequence, becauſe it is in his character, and what every body expects. He ſeems to be but an ill diſſembler, and an ill liar, though they are the two talents he moſt practiſes, and moſt values himſelf upon. The ends he has gained by lying, appeared to be more owing to the frequency, than the art of them: his lies being ſometimes detected in an hour, often in a day, and always in a week. He tells them freely in mixed companies, though he knows half of thoſe that hear him to be his enemies, and is ſure they will diſcover them the moment they leave him. He ſwears ſolemnly he loves, and will ſerve you; and your back is no ſooner turned, but he tells thoſe about him you are a dog and a raſcal. He goes conſtantly to prayers, in the forms of his place, and will talk bawdy and blaſphemy at the chapel door. He is a preſbyterian in politics, and an atheiſt in religion; but he chooſes at preſent to whore with a papiſt. In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is, to endeavour to impoſe on their underſtanding; for which he has but one receipt, a compoſition of lies and oaths: and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty ſhillings and a privy counſellor; by which the eaſy and the honeſt are

often

often either deceived or amuſed; and, either way, he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment to-day, becauſe you are not of his party; to-morrow he will meet or ſend for you, as if nothing at all had paſſed, lay his hands, with much friendſhip, on your ſhoulders, and, with the greateſt eaſe and familiarity, tell you, that the faction are driving at ſomething in the houſe; that you muſt be ſure to attend, and to ſpeak to all your friends to be there, though he knows, at the ſame time, that you and your friends are againſt him in the very point he mentions: and, however abſurd, ridiculous and groſs this may appear, he has often found it ſucceſsful, ſome men having ſuch an awkward baſhfulneſs, they know not how to refuſe on a ſudden, and every man having ſomething to fear or hope, which often hinders them from driving things to extremes with perſons of power, whatever provocations they may have received. He hath ſunk his fortune, by endeavouring to ruin one kingdom, and hath raiſed it by going far in the ruin of another. With a good natural underſtanding, a great fluency in ſpeaking, and no ill taſte of wit, he is generally the worſt companion in the world; his thoughts being wholly taken up between vice and politics; ſo that bawdy, profaneneſs, and buſineſs, fill up his whole converſation. To gratify himſelf in the two firſt, he makes uſe of ſuitable favourites, whoſe talents reach no higher than to entertain him with all the lewdneſs that paſſes in town. As for buſineſs, he is ſaid to be very dex-

terous at that part of it which turns upon intrigue; and he ſeems to have transferred thoſe talents of his youth for intriguing with women, into public affairs. For, as ſome vain young fellows, to make a gallantry appear of conſequence, will chooſe to venture their necks, by climbing up a wall or window at midnight to a common wench, where they might as freely have gone in at the door, and at noon-day; ſo his excellency, either to keep himſelf in practice, or advance the fame of his politics, affects the moſt obſcure, troubleſome and winding paths, even in the moſt common affairs, thoſe which would be brought about as well in the ordinary forms, or would follow, of courſe, whether he intervened or not.

He bears the gallantries of his lady with the indifference of a ſtoic; and thinks them well recompenſed by a return of children to ſupport his family, without the fatigues of being a father. He has three predominant paſſions, which you will ſeldom find united in the ſame man, as ariſing from different diſpoſitions of mind, and naturally thwarting each other: theſe are, love of power, love of money, and love of pleaſure; they ride him ſometimes by turns, and ſometimes all together: ſince he went into Ireland, he ſeems moſt diſpoſed to the ſecond, and has met with great ſucceſs, having gained by his government of under two years, five and forty thouſand pounds, by the moſt favourable computation, half in the regular way, and half in the prudential.

He

He was never yet known to refuſe or keep a promiſe. But here I deſire to diſtinguiſh between a promiſe and a bargain; for he will be ſure to keep the latter, when he has the faireſt offer.

Thus much for his excellency's character: I ſhall now proceed to his actions, only during the time he was governor of Ireland, which were tranſmitted to me by an eminent perſon in buſineſs there, who had all opportunities of being well informed, and whoſe employment did not lie at his excellency's mercy.

This intelligence being made up of ſeveral facts independent of each other, I ſhall hardly be able to relate them in due order of time, my correſpondent omitting that circumſtance, and tranſmitting them to me juſt as he recollected them; ſo that the gentlemen of that kingdom, now in town, will, I hope, pardon me any ſlips I ſhall make in that or any other kind, while I keep exactly to the truth.

Thomas Proby, Eſq; chirurgeon-general of Ireland, a perſon univerſally eſteemed, and whom I have formerly ſeen here, had built a country houſe, half a mile from Dublin, adjoining to the park. In a corner of the park, juſt under his houſe, he was much annoyed with a dog-kennel, which belonged to the government; upon which he applied to Thomas earl of Pembroke, then lord lieutenant, and to the commiſſioners of the revenue, for a leaſe of about five acres of that part of the park. His petition was referred to the lord treaſurer here, and ſent back for a report,

port, which was in his favour, and the bargain so hard, that the lord treasurer struck off some part of the rent: he had a lease granted him, for which he was to build another kennel, provide ice yearly for the government, and pay a certain rent: the land might be worth about thirty shillings an acre. His excellency, soon after his arrival in Ireland, was told of this lease, and, by his absolute authority, commanded Mr. Proby to surrender up the land; which he was forced to do, after all the expence he had been at, or else must have expected to lose his employment: at the same time, he is under an obligation to pay his rent, and I think he does it to this day. There are several circumstances in this story which I have forgot, having not been sent to me with the rest; but I had it from a gentleman of that kingdom, who some time ago was here.

Upon his excellency's being declared lord lieutenant, there came over to make his court one Dr. L—d, s——w of D——n C——ge, noted in that kingdom for being the only clergyman that declared for taking off the sacramental test, as he did openly in their convocation, of which he was a member. The merit of this, and some other principles suitable to it, recommended by Tom B—d—k, so far ingratiated him with his excellency, that being provided of a *proper chaplain* already, he took him however into a great degree of favour: the Doctor attended his excellency to Ireland; and observing a cast wench in the family to be in much confidence with my lady,

lady, he thought, by addreſſing there, to have a ſhort open paſſage to preferment. He met with great ſucceſs in his amour; and walking one day with his miſtreſs, after my lord and lady, in the caſtle garden, my lady ſaid to his excellency, "What do you think? we are going to loſe poor "Foydy," a name of fondneſs they uſually gave her. "How do you mean?" ſaid my lord. "Why, the doctor behind us is reſolved to take "her from us." "Is he, by G—d? why then "(G—d d—mn me) he ſhall have the firſt bi-"ſhopric that falls." *

The doctor, thus encouraged, grew a moſt violent lover, returned with his excellency for England; and ſoon after the b——p—k of C—k falling void, to ſhew he meant fair, he married his damſel publicly here in London, and his excellency as honourably engaged his credit to get him the biſhopric; but the matter was reckoned ſo infamous, that both the a—chb——ps here, eſpecially his gr—ce of Y—k, interpoſed with the queen, to hinder ſo great a ſcandal to the church; and Dr. Brown, provoſt of Dublin college, being then in town, her majeſty was pleaſed to nominate him: ſo that Dr. L—d was forced to ſit down with a moderate deanery in the northern parts of that kingdom, and the additional comfort of a ſweet lady, who brought this her firſt huſband no other portion, than a couple of olive-branches

* It was confidently reported, as a conceit of his excellency, that, talking upon this ſubject, he once ſaid, with great pleaſure, that he hoped to make his w—e a b——p.

branches for his table, though ſhe herſelf hardly knows by what hand they were planted.

The queen reſerves all the great employments of Ireland to be given by herſelf, though often by the recommendation of the chief governor, according to his credit at court. The provoſtſhip of Dublin college is of this number, which was now vacant, upon the promotion of Dr. Brown; Dr. Benjamin P—tt, a fellow of that college, and chaplain to the houſe of commons of that kingdom, as well as domeſtic chaplain to the duke of Ormond, was at that time here, in attendance upon the Duke. He is a gentleman of good birth and fortune in Ireland, and lived here in a very decent figure: he is a perſon of wit and learning, has travelled and converſed in the beſt company, and was very much eſteemed among us here, when I had the pleaſure of his acquaintance: but he had the original ſin of being a reputed Tory, and a dependent on the duke of Ormond: however, he had many friends among the biſhops, and other nobility, to recommend him to the queen: at the ſame time, there was another fellow of that college, one Dr. Hall, who had much the advantage of P—tt in point of ſeniority; this gentleman had very little introduced himſelf into the world, but lived retired, though otherwiſe ſaid to be an excellent perſon, and very deſerving for his learning and ſenſe: he had been recommended from Ireland by ſeveral perſons; and his excellency, who had never before ſeen nor thought of him, after having tried to injure

injure the college, by recommending perſons from his ſide, at laſt ſet up H—ll, with all imaginable zeal, againſt P—tt. I tell this ſtory the more fully, becauſe it is affirmed, by his excellency's friends, that he never made more uſe of his court ſkill than at this time, to ſtop Dr. P—tt's promotion, not only from the perſonal hatred he had to the man, on account of his patron and principles, but that he might return to Ireland with ſome little opinion of his credit at court; which had mightily ſuffered by many diſappointments, eſpecially that of his chaplain Dr. L—d. It would be incredible to relate the many artifices he uſed to this end, of which the doctor had daily intelligence, and would fairly tell his excellency ſo at his levees, who ſometimes could not conceal his ſurprize, and then would promiſe, with half a dozen oaths, never to concern himſelf one way or other: theſe were broke every day, and every day detected. One morning, after ſome expoſtulation between the doctor and his excellency, and a few additional oaths, that he would never oppoſe him more, his excellency went immediately to the biſhop of E—y, and prevailed on him to go to the queen from him, and let her majeſty know, that he never could conſent, as long as he lived, that Dr. P—tt ſhould be provoſt; which the biſhop barely complied with, and delivered his meſſage: though, at the ſame time, he did the doctor all the good offices he could. The next day the doctor was again with his excellency, and gave him thanks for

for ſo open a proceeding; the affair was now paſt diſſembling; and his excellency owned, he did not oppoſe him *directly*, but confeſſed he did it *collaterally*. The doctor, a little warmed, ſaid, "No, my lord, you mean *directly* you did not, "but *indirectly* you did." The concluſion was, that the queen named the doctor to the place; and, as a further mortification, juſt upon the day of his excellency's departure for Ireland.

But here I muſt deſire the reader's pardon, if I cannot digeſt the following facts in ſo good a manner as I intended; becauſe it is thought expedient, for ſome reaſons, that the world ſhould be informed of his excellency's merits as ſoon as poſſible. I will therefore only tranſcribe the ſeveral paſſages as they were ſent me from Dublin, without either correcting the ſtile, or adding any remarks of my own. As they are, they may ſerve for hints to any perſon, who may hereafter have a mind to write memoirs of his excellency's life.

A RELA-

A RELATION of ſeveral FACTS, exactly as they were tranſmitted to me from Ireland about three Months ago, and at ſeveral times, from a Perſon of Quality, and in Employment there.

THE earl of Rochfort's regiment of dragoons was embarked for her majeſty's ſervice abroad, on the 27th of Auguſt 1709, and left their horſes behind them, which were ſubſiſted in order to mount another regiment to fill up their room; as the horſes of lieutenant-general Harvey's regiment had formerly mounted a regiment raiſed, and ſtill commanded by the duke of Ormond; on which occaſion the duke had her majeſty's orders only for as much money as would ſupply the charge of the horſes till the regiment was raiſed, which was ſoon after, and then it was put on the eſtabliſhment, as other regiments. But that which was to ſupply the earl of Rochfort's, had not a commiſſion granted till the 29th of April 1710, and all the pay from the 27th of Auguſt to that time (being above 5700*l.*) was taken under pretence of keeping the horſes, buying new ones in the room of ſuch as ſhould be wanting or unſerviceable, and for providing accoutrements for the men and horſes. As for the laſt uſe, thoſe are always produced out of the funds for providing cloathing, and the duke of Ormond did ſo: as for horſes wanting, they are very few, and the captains have orders to pro-

vide them another way; the keeping the horſes did not amount to 700 *l.* by the accounts laid before the committee of parliament; ſo there was at leaſt 5000 *l.* charged to the nation, more than the real charge could amount to.

Mrs. L—d, at firſt coming over, expected the benefit of the box-money; and accordingly talked of ſelling it for about 200 *l.* but at laſt was told ſhe muſt expect but part of it, and that the grooms of the chamber, and other ſervants, would deſerve a conſideration for their attendance; accordingly his excellency had it brought to him every night; and, to make it worth his receiving, my lady gave great encouragement to play: ſo that, by a moderate computation, it amounted to near 1000 *l.*; of which a ſmall ſhare was given to the grooms of the chamber, and the reſt made a perquiſite to his excellency. For Mrs. L—d having an huſband, and a biſhopric promiſed her, the other pretenſions were cut off.

He met lieutenant general Langſton in the court of requeſts, and preſented a gentleman to him, ſaying, "This is a particular friend of "mine; he tells me he is a lieutenant in your "regiment; I muſt deſire you will take the firſt "opportunity to give him a troop, and you will "oblige me mightily." The lieutenant-general anſwered, "He had ſerved very well, and had "very good pretenſions to a troop, and that he "would give him the firſt that fell." With this the gentleman was mighty well ſatisfied, returned thanks, and withdrew. Upon which his excellency

excellency ſaid immediately, " I was forced to " ſpeak for him, as a great many of his friends " have votes at elections; but, damn him, he " is a rogue, therefore take no care for him."

He brought one M—y to the duke of Ormond, and recommended him as a very honeſt gentleman, and deſired his grace would provide for him; which his grace promiſed. So M—y withdrew. As ſoon as he was gone, his lordſhip immediately ſaid to the duke, " That fellow is the " greateſt rogue in Chriſtendom."

Colonel C—w—d having received pay, for ſome time, in two or three regiments, as captain, but never done any other ſervice to the crown than eating and drinking in the expedition to Cadiz under the duke of Ormond, finding he had not pretenſions enough to riſe, after he had ſold the laſt employment he had, applied to his excellency, who repreſented him in ſuch a light, that he got above 900l. as an arrear of half-pay, which he had no title to, and a penſion of 10s. *per* day; but he reckoning this as much too little for his wants, as every body elſe did too much for his pretenſions, gave in a ſecond petition to the queen for a further addition of 10s. a day; which being referred to his excellency, he gave him a favourable report; by means whereof, it is hoped, his merit will be ſtill farther rewarded. He turned out the poor gate-keeper of Chapel-izod gate, though he and his wife were each above ſixty years old, without aſſigning any cauſe; and they are now ſtarving.

As for the buſineſs of the arſenal, it was the product of chance, and never ſo much as thought of by the perſons who, of late, have given ſo many good reaſons for the building of it; till, upon enquiring into the funds, they were found to hold out ſo well, that there was a neceſſity of deſtroying ſixty or ſeventy thouſand pounds; otherwiſe, his excellency, for that time, could hardly have had the credit of taxing the kingdom: upon this occaſion, many projects were propoſed, all which, at laſt, gave way to the propoſal of a worthy perſon, who had often perſuaded the nation to do itſelf a great deal of harm, by attempting to do itſelf a little good; which was, that forty thouſand arms ſhould be provided for the militia, and ammunition in proportion, to be kept in four arſenals to be built for that purpoſe: this was accordingly put into the heads of a bill, and then this worthy patriot, with his uſual ſincerity, declared, he would not conſent to the giving of money for any other uſe; as every body thought, by the words he ſpoke; though afterwards he ſhewed them, that his meaning was not to be known by the vulgar acceptation of words; for he not only gave his conſent to the bill, but uſed all the art and induſtry he was maſter of, to have it paſs; though the money was applied in it, to the building one arſenal only, and ammunition and other ſtores proportionable, without one word of the militia. So the arſenal was conceived, and afterwards formed in a proper manner; but when it came to be brought forth, his excellency took it out of the hands

hands that had formed it, as far as he could, and, contrary to all precedents, put it out of the care of the ordnance-board, who were properly to have taken care of the receipt and payment of the money, without any further charge to the public, and appointed his ſecond ſecretary, Mr. Denton, to be paymaſter, whoſe ſalary was a charge of above five hundred pounds in the whole: then, thinking this was too ſmall a charge to put the public to for nothing, he made an eſtabliſhment for that work, conſiſting of one ſuperintendant at three pounds *per* week, eight overſeers at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a-week, and ſixteen aſſiſtants at ſeven pounds four ſhillings a-week, making in all ſeventeen pounds eight ſhillings a-week: and theſe were, for the greater part, perſons who had no knowledge of ſuch buſineſs; and their honeſty was equal to their knowledge, as it has ſince appeared by the notorious cheats and neglects that have been made out againſt them, inſomuch, that the work that they have overſeen, which, with their ſalary, has coſt near 3000l. might have been done for leſs than 1800l. if it had been agreed for by the yard; which is the uſual method, and was ſo propoſed in the eſtimate. And this is all a certainty, becauſe all that has been done, was only removing earth, which has been exactly computed by the yard, and might have been ſo agreed for.

Philip S—v—ge, Eſq; as chancellor of the exchequer, demanded fees of the commiſſioners of the revenue for ſealing writs in the queen's buſi-

neſs, and ſhewed them for it ſome precedents; but they, not being well ſatisfied with them, wrote to Mr. South, one of the commiſſioners, then in London, to inquire into the practice there. He ſent them word, upon inquiry, that fees were paid there, upon the like caſes; ſo they adjudged it for him, and conſtantly paid him fees. If, therefore, there was a fault, it muſt ly at their door, for he never offered to ſtop the buſineſs; yet his excellency knew ſo well how to chooſe an attorney and ſolicitor-general, that, when the caſe was referred to them, they gave it againſt the chancellor, and ſaid, he had forfeited his place by it, and ought to refund the money, being about two hundred pounds *per annum*; but never found any fault in the commiſſioners, who adjudged the caſe for him, and might have refuſed him the money, if they had thought fit.

Captain Robert F——d, father to the preſent e—l of K——e, had a grant from king Charles II. of the office of comptroller of the muſters, during the lives of captain C——s B——n, now e—l of M——h, and George F——d, elder brother to the preſent e—l of K——e; which the ſaid Robert F——d enjoyed, with a ſalary of 300 l. *per annum*, and, after his death, his ſon George enjoyed it; till my lord G—lw—y did, by threats, compel him to ſurrender the ſaid patent for a penſion of two hundred pounds *per annum*, which he enjoyed during his life. Some time ago, the preſent e—l of K——e, as heir to his father and brother, looked upon himſelf to be injured by the

ſurrender

ſurrender of ſaid patent, which ſhould have come to him, the e——l of M——h being ſtill living: therefore, in order to right himſelf, did petition her majeſty; which petition, as uſual, was referred to the earl of Wharton, then lord lieutenant; who, being at that time in London, referred it, according to the common method on ſuch occaſions, to the lord chancellor and lieutenant-general Ingoldſby, the then lords juſtices of this kingdom; who, for their information, ordered the attorney-general to enquire, whether the e——l of K——e had any legal title to ſaid patent, which he, in a full report, ſaid he had: and they referred it to the deputy vice-treaſurer to enquire into the nature of the office, and to give them his opinion, whether he thought it was uſeful and neceſſary for her majeſty's ſervice. He gave in his report, and ſaid, he thought it both uſeful and neceſſary; and, with more honeſty than wit, gave the following reaſons: firſt, that the muſter-maſter general computed the pay of the whole military liſt, which is above two hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*: ſo, having no check on him, might commit miſtakes, to the great prejudice of the crown: and, ſecondly, becauſe he had himſelf found out ſeveral of thoſe miſtakes, which a comptroller might prevent. The lords juſtices approved of theſe reaſons, and ſo ſent over their report to my lord lieutenant, that they thought the office uſeful and neceſſary; but colonel P——r, the muſter-maſter general, being then in London, and having given my lord lieutenant

tenant one thouſand pounds for his conſent to enjoy that office, after he had got her majeſty's orders for a patent, thought a check upon his office would be a troubleſome ſpy upon him; ſo he pleaded the merit of his thouſand pounds, and deſired, in conſideration thereof, that his excellency would free him from an office that would put it out of his power to wrong the crown; and, to ſtrengthen his pretenſions, put my lady in mind of what money he had loſt to her at play; who immediately, out of a grateful ſenſe of benefits received, railed as much againſt the lords juſtices report as ever ſhe had done againſt the tories; and my lord lieutenant, prompted by the ſame virtue, made his report, that there needed no comptroller to that office, becauſe he comptrolled it himſelf; which (now having given his word for it) he will, beyond all doubt, effectually for the future: though, ſince it has been plainly made appear, that, for want of ſome control in that office, her majeſty has been wronged of many hundred pounds, by the roguery of a clerk; and that during the time of his excellency's government; of which there has been but a ſmall part refunded, and the reſt has not been enquired after, leſt it ſhould make it plainly appear, that a comptroller in that office is abſolutely neceſſary.

His excellency being deſirous, for a private reaſon, to provide for the worthleſs ſon of a worthleſs father, who had lately ſold his company, and, of courſe, all pretenſions to preferment in the army, took this opportunity: A captain in the old-

eſt

eſt regiment in the kingdom, being worn out with ſervice, deſired leave to ſell; which was granted him; and accordingly, for a conſideration agreed upon, he gave a reſignation of his company to a perſon approved of by the commander of the regiment; who, at the ſame time, applied to his excellency for leave for another captain of his regiment, who is an engineer in her majeſty's ſervice in Spain, and abſent by her majeſty's licence: his excellency hearing that, ſaid, they might give him a company in Spain, for he would diſpoſe of this here; and ſo, notwithſtanding all the commanders in the regiment could urge, he gave the company, which was regularly ſurrendered, to his worthy favourite; and the other company, which was a diſputable title, to the gentleman who had paid his money for that which was ſurrendered. Talking one morning, as he was dreſſing, (at leaſt a dozen people preſent) of the debates in council, about the affairs of Trim, he ſaid, the lord chief juſtice D—— had laid down as law, a thing for which a man ought to have his gown ſtripped off, and be whipped at the cart's a—e; and, in leſs than a quarter of an hour, repeated the expreſſion again: yet, ſome days after, ſent Dr. L——d to aſſure his lordſhip, he ſaid no ſuch thing. Some time after, while he was in England, he uſed his utmoſt efforts with the queen to turn him out, but could not: and when he came once again, he took an opportunity (when the judges were to wait on him) to ſay to them, particularly to lord chief

chief juſtice D——, that, perhaps, ſome officious perſons might ſpread ſtories, that he had endeavoured to do ſome of them a prejudice in England, which, he aſſured them, he never had; but, on the contrary, would always, without diſtinction, ſhew his regard according to merit; which the lord chief juſtice B—— was pleaſed to approve of, by ſaying, that was very honourable, that was very gracious; though he knew the contrary himſelf.

In England he bid Mr. Deering aſſure all his friends and acquaintance here, that they and every body might depend on his favour, as they behaved themſelves; with which Mr. Deering was much pleaſed, and wrote over to his friends accordingly; and as ſoon as his back was turned, he jeeringly ſaid, "D—mn me, how eaſily he is "bit." When the Duke of Ormond was in the government, he gave to Mr. Anderſon Saunders the government of Wicklow-caſtle, which has no ſalary, but a perquiſite of ſome land worth about 12 l. *per annum*, which Mr. Saunders gave to the free-ſchool of the town; but his excellency, not liking either the perſon or the uſe, without any ceremony, or reaſon given, ſuperſeded him, by giving a commiſſion for it to J—s the horſe-courſer, who lies under ſeveral odious and ſcandalous reflections, particularly of very narrowly eſcaping the gallows for coining. Some time after, his excellency landing the ſecond time, he ſent for Mr. Saunders, among others, deſiring their good offices in the enſuing ſeſſion, and that Mr. Saunders

:rs would not take amiſs his giving that place to —s, for he aſſured him he did not know it be-nged to him, which is highly probable, becauſe en of his knowledge uſually give away things, ithout enquiring how they are in their diſpoſal. [r. Saunders anſwered him, " He was very glad to find what was done was not out of any par-ticular diſpleaſure to him, becauſe Mr. Whit-ſhed had ſaid at Wicklow, by way of apology for what his excellency had done, that it was occaſioned by Mr. Saunders having it; and ſeeing his excellency had no ill intention againſt him, was glad he could tell his excellency it was not legally given away, for he had a cuſto-dium for the land out of the court of exche-quer; ſo his excellency's commiſſion could do him no prejudice."

Lieutenant-general Echlin had pay on this eſta-liſhment as brigadier, till the middle of Octo-er 1708, when he was removed from it by his xcellency, becauſe his regiment went away t that time, and lieutenant-general G—— was ut in his room. Some time after, major-gene-al Rook, conſidering the reaſon why Echlin was emoved, concluded, that G—— could not come n, till ſome time in February after, becauſe his egiment was alſo out of the kingdom till that ime; and therefore, he being the eldeſt general fficer, that had no pay as ſuch, was entitled to he brigadier's pay, from the time Echlin was re-noved till G—— was qualified to receive it; he aving done the duty. His excellency, upon hear-ing

ing the reaſon, owned it to be a very good one, and told him if the money were not paid to G— he ſhould have it, ſo bid him go ſee; which he did, and found it was: then his excellency told him he would refer his caſe to a court of general officers to give their opinion in it, which he ſaid muſt needs be in his favour; and upon that ground he would find a way to do him right; yet when the general officers ſat, he ſent for ſeveral of them, and made them give the caſe againſt Rook.

When the proſecution againſt the diſſenting miniſters in Drogheda was depending, one Stephens, a lawyer in this town of Dublin, ſent his excellency, then in London, a petition, in the name of the ſaid diſſenting miniſter, in behalf of himſelf and others who lay under any ſuch proſecution; and, in about a fortnight's time, his excellency ſent over a letter, to the then lords juſtices, to give the attorney and ſolicitor general's orders, to enter a *nolli proſequi* to all ſuch ſuits: which was done accordingly, though he never ſo much as enquired into the merit of the cauſe, or referred the petition to any body, which is a juſtice done to all men, let the caſe be never ſo light. He ſaid he had her majeſty's orders for it, but they did not appear under her hand; and it is generally affirmed he never had any.

That his excellency can deſcend to ſmall gains, take this inſtance: there was 850l. ordered by her majeſty to buy new liveries for the ſtate trumpets, meſſengers, &c.; but with great induſtry he got them

them made cheaper by 200 l. which he ſaved out of that ſum; and it is reported, that his ſteward got a handſome conſideration beſide, from the undertaker.

The agent to his regiment, being ſo alſo to others, bought a lieutenant's commiſſion in a regiment of foot, for which he never was to do any duty; which ſervice pleaſed his excellency ſo well, that he gave him leave to buy a company, and would have had him kept both; but before his pleaſure was known, the former was diſpoſed of.

The lord lieutenant has no power to remove or put in a ſolicitor general without the queen's letter, it being one of thoſe employments excepted out of his commiſſion; yet, becauſe Sir R— L— diſobliged him, by voting according to his opinion, he removed him, and put in Mr. F——, though he had no queen's letter for ſo doing, only a letter from Mr. Secretary Boyle that her majeſty deſigned to remove him.

The privy council in Ireland, have a great ſhare of the adminiſtration, all things being carried by the conſent of the majority, and they ſign all orders and proclamations there, as well as the chief governor. But his excellency diſliked ſo great a ſhare of power in any but himſelf: and when matters were debated in council, otherwiſe than he approved, he would ſtop them, and ſay, "*Come, my lords, I ſee how your opinions are, and* "*therefore I will not take your votes;*" and ſo would put an end to the diſpute.

One of his chief favourites was a ſcandalous clergyman, a conſtant companion of his pleaſures, who appeared publicly with his excellency, but never in his habit, and who was a hearer and ſharer of all the lewd and blaſphemous diſcourſes of his excellency and his cabal. His excellency preſented this worthy divine to one of the b—ps, with the following recommendation: "My lord, "M—— is a very honeſt fellow, and has no fault "but that he is a little too immoral." He made this man chaplain to his regiment, though he had been ſo infamous, that a b——p in England refuſed to admit him to a living he had been preſented to, till the patron forced him to it by law.

His excellency recommended the earl of I—— to be one of the lords juſtices in his abſence, and was much mortified, when he found lieutenant-general I——by appointed, without any regard to his recommendation; particularly becauſe the uſual ſalary of a lord juſtice in the lord lieutenant's abſence, is 100 l. *per* month, and he had bargained with the earl for 40 l.

I will ſend you in a packet or two, ſome particulars of his excellency's uſage of the convocation, of his infamous intrigues with Mrs. C—ngſby, an account of his arbitrary proceedings about the election of a magiſtrate in Trim, his barbarous injuſtice to dean Jephſon, and poor Will Crow; his deciding a caſe at hazard to get my lady twenty guineas, but in ſo ſcandalous and unfair a manner, that the arranteſt ſharper would be aſhamed of; the common cuſtom of playing

playing on Sunday in my lady's cloſet; the *partie quarrée* between her ladyſhip and Mrs. L——d and two young fellows dining privately and frequently at Clontarf, where they uſed to go in a hackney coach; and his excellency's making no ſcruple of dining in a hedge tavern whenever he was invited; with ſome other paſſages, which, I hope, you will put into ſome method, and correct the ſtile, and publiſh as ſpeedy as you can.

Note, Mr. S——ge, beſides the perſecution about his fees, was turned out of the council for giving his vote in parliament in a caſe where his excellency's own friends were of the ſame opinion, till they were wheedled or threatened out of it by his excellency. *The particulars before mentioned I have not yet received; whenever they come, I ſhall publiſh them in a ſecond part.*

REMARKS on Dr. SWIFT's TRACTS relating to IRELAND.

Taken from Mr. DEANE SWIFT's ESSAY.

Theſe tracts may, for any thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that reaſon may chance to be neglected by ſucceeding generations; which happens to be the fate of almoſt all other points of hiſtory, excepting thoſe only which are ſtiffly ſupported by the clamour and virulence of contending parties, according to their ſeveral views and intereſts in the commonwealth. But as the writings of Dr. Swift, and particularly the Drapier's letters, are founded on the ſecure baſis of the laws of his country, and ſupported throughout the whole with the warmeſt zeal for liberty, they will for ever command the veneration of thoſe who are not unworthy to enjoy the bleſſings of our conſtitution. For although it be a truth ſcarce ever regarded, the ſubject matter which happens to give riſe to any political treatiſe whatſoever is but of little conſequence; that ſpirit which is conveyed in the writings of a patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and country, being that alone which improveth our faculties, and therefore hath a claim to all the deepeſt of our attention, let what age or nation ſoever boaſt of the honour of his genius. But if the inhabitants of theſe nations, and particularly the people of Ireland, will continue to be like the dead adder, which refuſeth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never ſo wiſely; the time may come, when, for want of a patriot inſpired like Dr. Swift to appriſe them of their danger, they may be doomed to chains and ſlavery, by the contrivance of ſome wicked impoſtor that may lie in wait for their deſtruction. Conſider, therefore, ye ſons of Ireland, what hardſhips had like to have been inflicted upon your wife, your courageous patriot; conſider what perſecutions were ſet on foot againſt him by ſlaves and wretches, for no other crime but that of defending your liberties, or rather indeed for maintaining the very exiſtence of your country, againſt one vile inſignificant mechanic. Think not becauſe that evil day is paſt, that in the womb of time there cannot be any further projects to undermine your liberties. Have ye not ſeen pretended patriots of late

years.

years which have proſtituted their impious pens to ſerve the vileſt purpoſes? But, thanks be to God! their writings have periſhed, and their names are univerſally pronounced with abhorrence, contempt, and execration. Read therefore, and imbibe the political principles of Dr. Swift; engrave them on the tablet of your hearts; teach them unto your children's children; and above all things, remember to fix an indelible mark of infamy upon thoſe men, who by their words, their actions, and other wicked inſinuating artifices, endeavour to ſap the vitals of your liberty. For be aſſured, that in the day of trial they will approve themſelves to their maſters to be corrupted ſlaves and traitors to their country.

As to the piece entitled, *A ſhort View of the State of Ireland, written in* 1727, [above, p. 113.] I cannot but declare myſelf heartily ſorry, that I am forced to diſagree with Lord Orrery with regard to his critic on it, [above, p. 123.] For ſurely among all the pleaſures and delights which have any reſpect unto this habitable world, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the proſperity of our country. But, alas! the miſeries of Ireland being the effects of a thouſand cauſes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At leaſt all remedies but one (which is, aboliſhing the uſe of gold and ſilver out of the whole community; a ſcheme too philoſophical, and perhaps too chimerical for ſo corrupted an age to reduce into practice) appear to be ſo exceedingly deſperate, that I verily believe it would require a legiſlator equal to the conductor of the Iſraelites out of the land of Egypt, to make them a rich and flouriſhing people, notwithſtanding the fertility of their ſoil, and the temperature of their climate.

I wonder, that any man could poſſibly reſide, for the greater part of eighteen years, in Ireland, without remarking, to his infinite regret, that no people in the Chriſtian world are ſo deſtitute of raiment, food, and all the conveniencies of life, as the inhabitants of that wretched kingdom, notwithſtanding that by God and nature it is perhaps the moſt favoured country upon earth. *Optima natio, peſſima gens*, was, I remember, Dr. Swift's periphraſis for Ireland, whenever his patriot indignation was raiſed againſt the abſurdity of their conduct and politics.

In the *ſhort view*, the Doctor enumerates fourteen cauſes of any country's flouriſhing and growing rich, and then examines

what effects arise from these causes in Ireland. I am well convinced, that some few alterations have taken place since 1727. But whether, in fact, these alterations have at all contributed to the interest of the weal-public; or whether it appears they have have had the least effect towards banishing complaint from our streets, is at present one of the points to be considered; and the other is, how far the remarks of Dr. Swift are equally true at this day as they were in 1727.

I cannot but insist upon it, that Ireland, with regard to twelve articles out of the fourteen, is just in the same condition, and labours under the same disadvantages, this present year 1754, as it did in the year 1727.

With respect to the seventh article [above, p. 114. 118.] which concerns the improvement of land, and the encouragement of agriculture, Ireland is by far in a worse situation at present than it was in 1727, notwithstanding many appearances to the contrary. For although it be certain, that great improvements, and particularly the finest roads perhaps in the world, have been made since that epoch, flocks and herds have been only thereby multiplied. And although it be asserted by Lord Orrery [above p. 123.] that agriculture is cultivated (i. e. that the culture of land is cultivated) in Ireland; the greater part of the husbandmen, the labourers and the poor, have, merely for the sake of those cursed cattle, which are the bane of Ireland, been driven out of their wretched habitations, and banished the country, helpless, naked, and forlorn; to rot, starve, and perish in desolate places, to the great diminution of the inhabitants.

And as to the fourteenth article [above p. 115. 119.] the people of Ireland, by their folly, their madness, their luxury, and disregard to all public interest, are, by many degrees, in a more wretched condition than they were in 1727; the most common necessaries, even their corn, their ale, and their potatoes, being, to the shame and confusion of their politics, imported from abroad, as well as their tea, their claret, and their spices.

As to the pamphlet entitled, *A modest proposal, &c.* [above, p. 335.] it is a humorous treatise, equally the product of despair and benevolence; and seemeth to have been written in the bitterness of the Dean's soul, and principally addressed to the consideration of those merciless tyrants which starve and oppress their fellow creatures, even to the shame and destruction of their

country.

country.. His propoſal is, to fatten up the children of beggars, cottagers and farmers, as they do lambs and pigs for the markets, and ſell their carcaſes to the rich; a food which he declares to be *very proper for landlords;* who, as they have already devoured moſt of the parents, ſeem to have the beſt title to their children.

As to Dr. Swift's political tracts relating to Ireland, wherein the rights of the clergy and the cauſe of chriſtianity are expreſsly and immediately concerned, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that Swift, being a thorough maſter of politics, and far beyond all the wiſeſt of his contemporaries, deeply verſed in the hiſtory of parties, could diſcover, at a ſurpriſing diſtance, the natural conſequences of thoſe efforts which had been frequently made during the time he flouriſhed, to ſubvert our happy conſtitution both of church and ſtate; inſomuch that he appears, from a great variety of his tracts, to have been one of the moſt ſagacious watchmen that ever was known in the church of Chriſt.

END OF VOL. IV.

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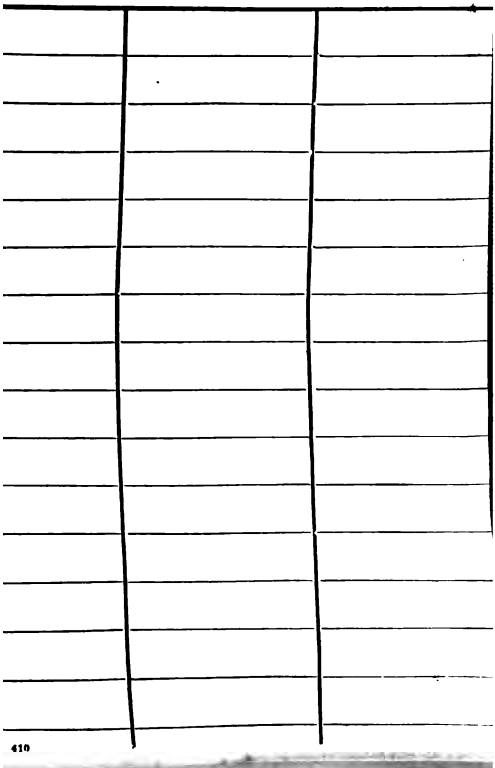

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